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FARRAGO.

CONTAINING

ESSAYS, MORAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, PO- LITICAL, and HISTORICAL: ON

SHAKESPEARE,	GOVERNMENTS,
TRUTH,	POLITENESS,
BOXING,	ENNUI,
KINGS,	INGRATITUDE,
RELIGION,	FORTUNE,
COMMERCE,	POLITICS, &c. &c.

ABSTRACTS and SELECTIONS on
Various Subjects.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

*Quidquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas
Gaudia, discursus, nostri est Farrago libelli. JUV.*

PUBLISHED FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE SOCIETY FOR
THE DISCHARGE AND RELIEF OF PERSONS IM-
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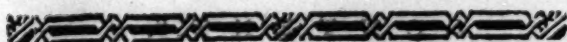
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THE
C O N T E N T S

OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.

ABSTRACT OF Mr. GIBBON'S HISTORY
OF THE GOTHS AND VANDALS, &c.

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HISTORY

OF THE

ENTERPRIZES AND SETTLEMENTS

OF THE

GOTHS, VANDALS,

AND OTHER

BARBARIAN NATIONS.

VOL. II.

A

HISTORY

30TH ANNIVERSARY

1911-1912

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The HISTORY of

The Enterprizes of the different Barbarian nations who invaded, and at length overturned the vast Roman empire, and fixed themselves in all parts of Europe, is very interesting ; both as these men were our ancestors, in a great degree, and as they produced a wonderful revolution in our quarter of the globe. This History was never so well digested and brought into one point of view, as by Mr. Gibbon ; we have therefore made an Abridgement of what particularly relates to it, from his elegant History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

The outlines of the extent of the Roman Empire, and the situation of its different divisions, is so much connected with the subject, it was thought necessary to take notice of them.

THE HISTORY

The history of the present situation
of the mind, and the progress of
the human race, is a subject of
great importance, and one which
has attracted the attention of
philosophers and statesmen for
many ages. It is a subject which
has been treated in many different
ways, and which has given rise to
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HISTORY
OF THE
ENTERPRIZES AND SETTLEMENTS
OF THE
GOTHS, VANDALS,
AND OTHER
BARBARIAN NATIONS.

VIEW of the PROVINCES of the ROMAN EMPIRE
in the Time of Hadrian and the Antonines.

SPAIN.

SPAIN has, in every age, maintained the same natural limits ; the Pyrenæan mountains, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic Ocean. Spain was divided by Augustus into three provinces, Lusitania, Bætica, and Tarraconensis. The kingdom of Portugal fills

NOTES.

The peace establishment of the Roman armies consisted of thirty legions.

Sixteen

ments.

GAUL.

nault,

Sixteen were stationed on the Danube and Rhine :

- 2 Lower Germany,
3 Upper Germany.
1 Rhætia.
1 Noricum.
4 Pannonia.
3 Mæsia.
2 Dacia.

eight legions :

- 6 Syria.
2 Cappadocia. One

nault, Flanders, and Brabant. Under the reign of the Antonines, Gaul was divided into six provinces; the sea-coast of the Mediterranean, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine, formed the Narbonnese; from the Pyrenees to the Loire, Aquitaine; between the Loire and the Seine, was styled the Celtic Gaul, and since, Lyons; that which lay beyond the Seine, and which had anciently been bounded by the Rhine, Belgic; the Gallic frontier of the Rhine, from Basil to Leyden, Upper and Lower Germanies.

BRITAIN.

The boundaries of the Roman province in this island, comprehended all England, Wales, and the Lowlands of Scotland, as far

- 1 Spain.
- 1 Egypt.
- 1 Africa.
- 3 Britain.

The legion was a body of six thousand eight hundred and thirty-one Romans, which, with its attendant auxiliaries, might amount to twelve thousand five hundred men.

The City Cohorts and Prætorian Bands were about twenty thousand, for the defence of the monarch and the capital.

The

far as the Firths of Dunbarton and Edinburgh. Before Britain lost her freedom, the country was irregularly divided between thirty tribes of Barbarians, the most considerable of whom were the Belgæ in the West, the Brigantes in the North, the Silures in South-Wales, and the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk. As far as the resemblance of manners and language may be credited, Spain, Gaul, and Britain were peopled by the same hardy race of savages. This province constituted the western division of the European provinces, which extended from the columns of Hércules to the wall of Antoninus, and from the mouth of the Tagus, to the sources of the Rhine and Danube.

ITALY.

The whole military force, including the navy, may be computed to amount to four hundred and fifty thousand, which is no more than France, a single province of the Roman empire, has maintained at one time, in the reign of Louis XIV.

The legion consisted of ten cohorts, and fifty-five companies; with a correspondent number of centurions and tribunes.

The first cohort was of heavy-armed infantry, consisting of one thousand one hundred and five, which always claimed the post of honour, and had the care of the eagle. Nine others at five hundred and fifty-five each, and ten troops of horse; the first troop one hundred and thirty-two, and nine others at sixty-six each.

ITALY.

Before the Roman conquest, the country which is now called Lombardy, was not considered as a part of Italy. A colony of Gauls, settling on the banks of the Po, from Piedmont to Romagna, carried their arms from the Alps to the Appenines. The Ligurians dwelt on the rocky coast, which now forms the republic of Genoa. The territories of Venice were inhabited by the Veneti, probably of Illyrian origin. The duchy of Tuscany and the ecclesiastical state, was the ancient seat of the Etruscans and Umbrians. The Tyber rolled at the foot of the seven hills of Rome, and the country of the Sabines, the Latins, and the Volsci, from that river to the frontiers of Naples, was the theatre of her infant victories. Capua and Campania possessed the immediate territory of Naples; the rest of the kingdom contained the Marfi, Samnites, Apulians, and Lucanians: on the sea-coasts were flourishing colonies of the Greeks. We may remark, that when Augustus divided Italy into eleven regions, the little province of Istria was annexed to that seat of Roman sovereignty.

DANUBE and ILLYRIAN Frontier.

The European provinces were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter rises only at thirty miles distance from the Rhine, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the most part, to the south-east, collects the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is, at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine. These provinces soon acquired the general appellation of Illyricum, and was esteemed the most warlike of the empire; containing Rhætia, Pannonia, Noricum, Dalmatia, Dacia, Mæsia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece.

The province of Rhætia, which soon extinguished the name of the Vindelicians, extended from the summit of the Alps to the banks of the Danube; from its source, as far as its conflux with the Inn. The greatest part of the flat country is subject to the elector of Bavaria; the city of Augsburg is protected by the constitution of the German empire; the Grisons are safe in their mountains, and the Tirol belongs to the house of Austria.

NORICUM.

NORICUM *and* PANNONIA.

The wide range of this province is extended between the Inn, the Danube and the Save; Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Lower Hungary and Sclavonia, were known to the ancients under the names of Noricum and Pannonia. Under the Roman government they were frequently united with each other, and they still remain the patrimony of a single family. They now contain the residence of the emperor; and if we except Bohemia, Moravia, the northern skirts of Austria, and a part of Hungary, between the Teyfs and the Danube, all the other dominions of the House of Austria are comprized in this province of the Roman empire.

DALMATIA.

The name of Illyrica more properly belonged to this province, it being a narrow tract between the Save and the Adriatic. The best part of the sea-coast, still retains its ancient appellation, is a province of the Venetian state, and the seat of the little republic of Ragusa. The inland parts have assumed the Sclavonian names of Croatia and Bosnia; the former obeys an Austrian governor, the latter

latter a Turkish pacha : the whole are barbarians, whose savage independence irregularly marks the doubtful limits of the Christian and Mahometan power.

MÆSIA and DACIA.

After the Danube had received the waters of the Teyfs and the Save, it acquired, at least, among the Greeks, the name of Ister. It formerly divided Mæsia and Dacia, the latter of which, was a conquest of Trajan, and the only province beyond the river. In their present state, Temeswar and Transylvania have been annexed to the crown of Hungary, on the left of the Danube; whilst the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia acknowledge the supremacy of the Turk. On the right hand of the Danube, Mæsia, which, during the middle ages, was broken into the barbarian kingdoms of Servia and Bulgaria, is again united in Turkish slavery.

THRACE, MACEDONIA, and GREECE.

The appellation of Roumelia, which is still bestowed by the Turks on the extensive countries of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, preserves the memory of their ancient

cient state under the Roman empire. In the time of the Antonines, the martial regions of Thrace, from the mountains of Hæmus and Rhodope, to the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, had assumed the name of a Province. The new city of Rome, founded by Constantine on the banks of the Bosphorus, has ever since remained the capital of a great monarchy. The kingdom of Macedonia, which under the reign of Alexander, gave laws to Asia, derived more solid advantages from the policy of the two Philips; and with its dependencies of Epirus and Thessaly, extended from the Ægean to the Ionian sea. When we reflect on the fame of Thebes and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, we can scarcely persuade ourselves, that so many immortal republics of ancient Greece were lost in a single province of the Roman empire, which, from the superior influence of the Achæan league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia.

ASIA MINOR.

Such was the state of Europe under the Roman emperors. The provinces of Asia, without excepting the transient conquests of Trajan, are all comprehended within the limits of the Turkish power. But, instead of following

following the arbitrary divisions of despotism, we will observe the indelible characters of nature. The name of Asia Minor is attributed with some propriety to the peninsula, which, confined between the Euxine and the Mediterranean, advances from the Euphrates towards Europe. The most extensive and flourishing district, westward of mount Taurus and the river Halys, was dignified by the Romans with the exclusive title of Asia. The jurisdiction of that province extended over the ancient monarchies of Troy, Lydia, and Phrygia, the maritime countries of the Pamphylians, Lycians, and Carians, and the Grecian colonies of Ionia, which equalled in arts, though not in arms, the glory of their parent. The kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus possessed the northern side, the province of Cilicia was terminated by the mountains of Syria: the inland country, separated from the Roman Asia by the river Halys, and from Armenia, by the Euphrates, had once formed the independent kingdom of Cappadocia. The northern shores of the Euxine, beyond Trebisond in Asia, and beyond the Danube in Europe, acknowledged the sovereignty of the emperors, and received at their hands, either tributary princes

ces or Roman garrisons. Budzak, Crim Tartary, Circassia, and Mingrelia, are the modern appellations of those savage countries.

SYRIA, PHœNICIA, and PALESTINE.

Under the successors of Alexander, Syria was the seat of the Seleucidæ, who reigned over Upper Asia, till the successful revolt of the Parthians confined their dominions between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. When Syria became subject to the Romans, it formed the eastern frontier of their empire; nor did that province, in its utmost latitude, know any other bounds than the mountains of Cappadocia to the north, and towards the south the confines of Egypt and the Red Sea. Phœnicia and Palestine were sometimes annexed to, and sometimes separated from, the jurisdiction of Syria. The former of these was a narrow and rocky coast; the latter was a territory scarcely superior to Wales, either in fertility or extent. A sandy desert alike destitute of wood and water skirts along the doubtful confine of Syria, from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. The wandering life of the Arabs was inseparably connected with their independence; and wherever, on some spots less
barren

barren than the rest, they ventured to form any settled habitation, they soon became subjects of the Roman empire.

EGYPT.

The geographers of antiquity have frequently hesitated to what portion of the globe they should ascribe Egypt. By its situation that celebrated kingdom is included within the immense peninsula of Africa; but it is accessible only on the side of Asia, whose revolutions, in almost every period of history, Egypt has humbly obeyed. A Roman præfect was seated on the splendid throne of the Ptolemies; and the iron sceptre of the Mamalukes is now in the hands of a Turkish pacha. The Nile flows down the country, above five hundred miles from the tropic of Cancer to the Mediterranean, and marks, on either side, the extent of fertility by the measure of its inundations. Cyrene, situate towards the west, and along the sea-coast, was first a Greek colony, afterwards a province of Egypt, and is now lost in the desert of Barca.

AFRICA.

From Cyrene to the ocean, the coast of
Africa

Africa extends above fifteen hundred miles; yet so closely is it pressed between the Mediterranean and the Sahara, or sandy desert, that its breadth seldom exceeds fourscore or an hundred miles. The eastern division was considered by the Romans as the more peculiar and proper province of Africa. Till the arrival of the Phœnician colonies, that fertile country was inhabited by the Libyans, the most savage of mankind. Under the immediate jurisdiction of Carthage, it became the centre of commerce and empire; but the republic of Carthage is now degenerated into the feeble and disorderly states of Tripoli and Tunis. The military government of Algiers oppresses the wide extent of Numidia, as it was once united under Massinissa and Jugurtha: but in the time of Augustus, the limits of Numidia were contracted; and, at least, two thirds of the country acquiesced in the name of Mauritania, with the epithet of Cæsariensis. The genuine Mauritania, or country of the Moors, which, from the ancient city of Tingi, or Tangier, was distinguished by the appellation of Tingitana, is represented by the modern kingdom of Fez. Sallee, on the ocean, so infamous at present for its piratical depredations, was noticed

by the Romans as the extreme object of their power, and almost of their geography. A city of their founding may still be discovered near Mequinez, the residence of the barbarian whom we condescend to style the emperor of Morocco; but it does not appear, that his more southern dominions, Morocco itself, and Segelmessa, were ever comprehended within the Roman empire. The western parts of Africa were intersected by the branches of mount Atlas, a name so idly celebrated by the fancy of poets; but which is now diffused over the immense ocean that rolls between the ancient and the new continent.

The MEDITERRANEAN, with its Islands.

Having now finished the circuit of the Roman empire, we may observe, that Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seem to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; at the foot of the European mountain, the fortress of Gibraltar is now seated: the mountain in Africa is called
Ape's

Ape's hill. The whole extent of the Mediterranean sea, its coasts, and its islands, were comprised within the Roman dominion. Of the larger islands, the two Balears, which derive their names of Majorca and Minorca from their respective size, Corsica and Sicily, are of the greatest consequence. Crete, or Candia, with Cyprus, and most of the smaller islands of Greece and Asia, have been subdued by the Turkish arms; whilst the little rock of Malta defies their power, and has emerged, under the government of its military order, into fame and opulence.

*General Idea of the extent of the ROMAN
EMPIRE.*

This long enumeration of provinces, whose broken fragments have formed so many powerful kingdoms, might almost induce us to forgive the vanity or ignorance of the ancients. Dazzled with the extensive sway, the irresistible strength, and the real or affected moderation of the emperors, they permitted themselves to despise, and sometimes to forget, the out-lying countries, which had been left in the enjoyment of a barbarous independence; and they

they gradually usurped the licence of confounding the Roman monarchy with the globe of the earth. But the temper, as well as knowledge, of a modern historian, require a more sober and accurate language. He may impress a juster image of the greatness of Rome, by observing that the empire was above two thousand miles in breadth, from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to mount Atlas, and the tropic of Cancer; that it extended, in length, more than three thousand miles from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates; that it was situated in the finest part of the Temperate Zone, between the twenty-fourth and fifty-sixth degrees of northern latitude; and that it was supposed to contain above sixteen hundred thousand square miles, for the most part of fertile and well cultivated land.

OF THE

GOTHS AND VANDALS,

ON the faith of ancient songs, the uncertain, but the only, memorials of barbarians, the first origin of the Goths, is deduced from the vast island, or peninsula, of Scandinavia. Many vestiges, which cannot be ascribed to the arts of popular vanity, attest the ancient residence of the Goths in the countries beyond the Baltic. From the time of the geographer Ptolemy, the southern part of Sweden, seems to have continued in the possession of the less enterprising remnant of the nation, and a large territory is at present divided into east and west Gothland. During the middle ages (from the ninth to the twelfth century) whilst Christianity

anity was advancing with a slow progress into the north, the Goths and the Swedes composed two distinct and sometimes hostile members of the same monarchy. The latter of these two names has prevailed without extinguishing the former. The Swedes, who might well be satisfied with their own fame in arms, have, in every age, claimed the kindred glory of the Goths. In a moment of discontent against the court of Rome, Charles the Twelfth insinuated, that his victorious troops were not degenerated from their brave ancestors, who had already subdued the mistress of the world.

Religion of the Goths.

Till the eleventh century, a celebrated temple subsisted at Upsal, the most considerable town of the Swedes and Goths. It was enriched with the gold which the Scandinavians had acquired in their piratical adventures, and sanctified by the uncouth representations of the three principal deities, the god of war, the goddess of generation, and the god of thunder. In the general festival, that was celebrated every ninth year, nine animals of every species (without excepting the human) were sacrificed, and their bleeding bodies suspended

suspended in the sacred grove adjacent to the temple. The only traces that now subsist of this barbaric superstition, are contained in the Edda, a system of mythology, composed in Iceland about the thirteenth century, and studied by the learned of Denmark and Sweden, as the most valuable remains of their ancient traditions

Institutions and Death of ODIN.

Notwithstanding the mysterious obscurity of the Edda, we can easily distinguish two persons confounded under the name of Odin; the god of war, and the great legislator of Scandinavia. The latter, the Mahomet of the north, instituted a religion adapted to the climate, and to the people. Numerous tribes on either side of the Baltic were subdued by the invincible valour of Odin, by his persuasive eloquence, and by the fame which he acquired, of a most skilful magician. The faith that he had propagated, during a long and prosperous life, he confirmed by a voluntary death. Apprehensive of the ignominious approach of disease and infirmity he resolved to expire as became a warrior. In a solemn assembly of the Swedes and Goths, he wounded himself in nine mortal places, hastening away (as he asserted with
his

his dying voice) to prepare the feast of heroes in the palace of the god of war.

Agreeable but uncertain Hypothesis concerning ODIN.

The native and proper habitation of Odin is distinguished by the appellation of As-gard. The happy resemblance of that name with As-burg, or As-of, words of a similar signification, has given rise to an historical system of so pleasing a contexture, that we could almost wish to persuade ourselves of its truth. It is supposed that Odin was the chief of a tribe of barbarians which dwelt on the banks of the lake Mæotis, till the fall of Mithridates and the arms of Pompey menaced the north with servitude. That Odin, yielding with indignant fury to a power which he was unable to resist, conducted his tribe from

According to the obvious sense of the Edda, and the interpretation of the most skilful critics, As-gard, instead of denoting a real city of the Asiatic Sarmatia, is the fictitious appellation of the mystic abode of the gods, the Olympus of Scandinavia; from whence the prophet was supposed to descend, when he announced his new religion to the Gothic nations, who were already seated in the southern parts of Sweden.

the

the frontiers of the Asiatic Sarmatia into Sweden, with the great design of forming, in that inaccessible retreat of freedom, a religion and a people, which, in some remote age, might be subservient to his immortal revenge; and when his invincible Goths, armed with martial fanaticism, should issue in swarms from the neighbourhood of the Polar circle to chastise the oppressors of mankind.

*Emigration of the GOTHS from SCANDINAVIA
into PRUSSIA.*

If so many successive generations of Goths were capable of preserving a faint tradition only of their Scandinavian origin, we must not expect, from such unlettered barbarians, any distinct account of the time and circumstances of their emigration. To cross the Baltic was an easy and natural attempt. The inhabitants of Sweden were masters of a sufficient number of large vessels, with oars, and the distance is little more than one hundred miles from Carlscroon to the nearest ports of Pomerania and Prussia. Here, at length, we land on firm and historic ground. At least as early as the Christian era, and as late as the age of the Antonines, the Goths were established towards the north of the Vistula, and

in that fertile province, where the commercial cities of Thorn, Elbing, Königsberg, and Dantzick, were long afterwards founded.

VANDALS.

Westward of the Goths, the numerous tribes of the Vandals were spread along the banks of the Oder, and the sea-coasts of Pomerania and Mecklenburgh. A striking resemblance of manners, complexion, religion, and language, seemed to indicate that the Vandals and the Goths were one great people. The latter appear to have been subdivided into Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ. The distinction among the Vandals was more strongly marked by the independent names of Heruli, Burgundians, Lombards, and a variety of other petty states, many of which, in a future age, expanded themselves into powerful monarchies.

From

The Ostro and Vifi, the eastern and western Goths obtained those denominations from their original seats in Scandinavia. In all their future marches and settlements they preserved, with their names, the same relative situation. When they first departed from Sweden, the infant colony was contained in three vessels. The third being a heavy sailer lagged behind, and the crew, which afterwards swelled into a nation, received from that circumstance the appellation of Gepidæ or Loiterers.

From PRUSSIA to the UKRAINE.

In the age of the Antonines, the Goths were still seated in Prussia. About the reign of Alexander Severus, the Roman province of Dacia had experienced their proximity by frequent and destructive inroads. In this interval therefore of about seventy years; we must place the second migration of the Goths from the Baltic to the Euxine; but the cause that produced it lies concealed among the various motives which actuate the conduct of unsettled barbarians. Either a pestilence or a famine, a victory, or a defeat, an oracle of the Gods, or the eloquence of a daring leader, were sufficient to impel the Gothic arms on the milder climates of the south. Besides the influence of a martial religion, the strength and spirit of the Goths, were equal to the most dangerous adventures. The use of round bucklers and short swords rendered them formidable in a close engagement; the manly obedience which they yielded to hereditary kings, gave uncommon union and stability to their councils; and the renowned Amala, the hero of that age, and the tenth ancestor of Theodoric, king of Italy, enforced, by the ascendant of personal merit, the

the prerogative of his birth, which he derived from the Anses, or demi gods of the Gothic nation.

Increase of the GOTHS in their March.

The fame of a great enterprize excited the bravest warriors of all the Vandalic states of Germany, many of whom are seen a few years afterwards combating under the common standard of the Goths. The first motions of the emigrants carried them to the banks of the Prypec, a river universally conceived by the ancients to be the southern branch of the Borysthenes. The windings of that great stream through the plains of Poland and Russia, gave a direction to their line of march, and a constant supply of fresh water and pasturage to their numerous herds of cattle. The Basternæ and Venedi were the first who presented themselves; and the flower of their youth, either from choice or compulsion, increased the Gothic army. The Basternæ dwelt on the northern side of the Carpathian mountains; the immense tract of land that separated them from the savages of Finland, was possessed, or rather wasted, by the Venedi: we have some reason to believe that the first of these nations,

tions, which distinguished itself in the Macedonian war, and was afterwards divided into the formidable tribes of the Peucini, the Borani, the Carpi, &c. derived its origin from the Germans. With better authority, a Sarmatian extraction may be assigned to the Venedi, who rendered themselves so famous in the middle ages. But the confusion of blood and manners on that doubtful frontier often perplexed the most accurate observers.

Distinction of GERMANS, and SARMATIANS.

As the Goths advanced nearer the Euxine sea, they encountered a purer race of Sarmatians, the Jazyges, the Alani, and the Roxolani; and they were probably the first Germans who saw the mouths of the Borysthenes, and the Tanais. If we inquire into the characteristic marks of the people of Germany and of Sarmatia, we shall discover that those two great portions of human kind were principally distinguished by fixed huts or moveable tents, by a close dress, or flowing garments, by the marriage of one or several wives, by a military force, consisting, for the most part, either of infantry or cavalry; and above all by the use of the Teutonic,

tonic, or the Slavonian language; the last of which has been diffused by conquest, from the confines of Italy to the neighbourhood of Japan.

Description of the UKRAINE.

The Ukraine is of considerable extent and uncommon fertility, intersected with navigable rivers, which, from either side, discharge themselves into the Borysthenes; interspersed with large and lofty forests of oak. The plenty of game and fish, the innumerable bee-hives, deposited in the hollows of old trees, and in the cavities of rocks, forming in that rude age, a valuable branch of commerce, the size of the cattle, the temperature of the air, the aptness of the soil for every species of grain, and the luxuriance of the vegetation, all displayed the liberality of Nature, and tempted the industry of man. But the Goths withstood all these temptations, and still adhered to a life of idleness, of poverty, and rapine.

The GOTHS invade the Roman Provinces.

The Scythian hords, which, toward the east, bordered on the new settlements of the Goths, presented nothing to their arms, except

except the doubtful chance of an unprofitable victory. But the prospect of the Roman territories, and the fields of Dacia covered with rich harvests, were alluring. The new and unsettled province of Dacia, the conquest of Trajan, maintained by his successors from ideal dignity, rather than use, was neither strong enough to resist, nor rich enough to satiate the rapaciousness of the barbarians. The remote banks of the Neister being considered as the boundary of the Roman power, the fortifications of the lower Danube were more carelessly guarded, and the inhabitants of Mæsia lived in supineness, fondly believing themselves at an inaccessible distance from any barbarian invaders. The irruption of the Goths, under the reign of Philip, fatally convinced them of their mistake. The king, or leader of that fierce nation, traversed with contempt the province of Dacia, and passed both the Neister and the Danube without any opposition capable of retarding his progress. The relaxed discipline of the Roman troops betrayed the most important posts, and the fear of punishment induced great numbers of them to enlist under the Gothic standard. The various multitudes of barbarians appeared, at length, under

der the walls of Marcianopolis, a city built by Trajan in honour of his sister, and at that time the capital of the second Mæsia. The inhabitants consented to ransom their lives and properties, by the payment of a large sum of money, and the invaders retreated back into their deserts, animated, rather than satisfied, with the first success of their arms against an opulent but feeble country. Intelligence was soon transmitted to the emperor Decius, that Cniva, king of the Goths, had passed the Danube a second time, with more considerable forces; that his numerous detachments scattered devastation over the province of Mæsia, whilst the main body of the army, consisting of seventy thousand Germans and Sarmatians, a force equal to the most daring achievements, required the presence of the Roman monarch, and the exertion of his military power.

GOthic WAR. A. D. 250.

Decius found the Goths engaged before Nicopolis, now called Nicôp, on the Jactrus, one of the many monuments of Trajan's victories. On his approach they raised the siege, but with a design only of marching

ing away to a conquest of greater importance, the siege of Philippopolis, a city of Thrace, founded by the father of Alexander, near the foot of mount Hæmus. The emperor Decius followed them through a difficult country, and by forced marches; but when he imagined himself at a considerable distance from the rear of the Goths, Cniva turned with a rapid fury on his pursuers. The camp of the Romans was surprized and pillaged, and, for the first time, their emperor fled in disorder before a troop of half-armed barbarians. Philippopolis was taken by storm; and it is said that an hundred thousand persons were massacred in the sack of that great city. Many prisoners became an accession to the spoil; among whom Priscus, a brother of the late emperor Philip, blushed not to assume the purple under the protection of the barbarous enemies of Rome.

Decius intercepted several parties of the Carpi, and other Germans, who were hastening to share the victory of their countrymen, and by a full exertion of his valour and judicious conduct, by the next year, the Goths were on every side pursued and surrounded by the Romans, and they would gladly have purcha-

sed an undisturbed retreat, by the surrender of their booty and prisoners. But the emperor, confident of success, resolved, by chastisement, to strike a salutary terror into the barbarians. The conflict was terrible; and the success would have been equal to the emperor's merit, if he could have been content with the defeat of the two first lines of the Goths; but the attack of the third, which was protected by a morass in its front, was attended with the defeat and death of the emperor. Early in the action, his son, a youth of the fairest hopes, and already associated to the honour of the purple, was slain by an arrow, in the sight of his afflicted father. This fatal blow humbled for a little time the insolence of the legions.

As this was the first action of great note, in which the barbarians had a determined superiority, the relation has been attended with more circumstances, than the nature of this contracted scheme will always allow.

A. D. 251.

The Goths were allowed by the emperor Gallus to retreat with their booty, many prisoners, and a stipulation for an annual payment

ment of a large sum of gold, on a promise of never infesting the Roman territories by such excursions.

Origin and confederacy of the FRANKS.

As the posterity of the Franks compose one of the greatest and most enlightened nations of Europe, great ingenuity has been exhausted in the discovery of their unlettered ancestors. It has been supposed, that Pannonia, that Gaul, that the northern parts of Germany, gave birth to that celebrated colony of warriors. At length the most rational critics have acquiesced in a sentiment whose simplicity persuades us of its truth.

They suppose, that about the year 240, a new confederacy was formed under the name of Franks, by the old inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and the Weser. The present circle of Westphalia, the Landgraviate of Hesse, and the duchies of Brunswic and Lunenburg, were the ancient seat of the Chauci, inaccessible in their morasses; of the Cherusci, proud of the fame of Arminius; of the Catti, and several other tribes of inferior power. The love of liberty was the darling passion of the Germans; they deserved, they assumed, they

they maintained the honourable epithet of Franks and Freemen. The Romans had often experienced their daring valour. The Rhine, though dignified with the title of Safeguard of the provinces, was an imperfect barrier to the daring spirit of enterprise of the Franks. From the river to the Pyrenees was a rapid conquest: they crossed the mountains, and Spain was for twelve years, the greatest part of the reign of Gallienus, the theatre of unequal and destructive hostilities. When this country was exhausted, they seized on some vessels in the ports of Spain, and passed over into Africa, and filled the distant province of Mauritania with astonishment.

The SUEVI.

In the upper part of Saxony beyond the Elbe, which is at present called the Marquisate of Lusatia, there existed, in ancient times, a sacred wood, the awful seat of the superstition of the Suevi. Their wide extended name filled the interior countries of Germany, from the banks of the Oder to those of the Danube. They were distinguished from the other Germans by the peculiar mode of dressing their long hair, which they gathered

About the end of the fourth century.

in

in a rude knot on the crown of the head. Jealous, as the Germans were, of military fame, they all confessed their superior valour.

ALEMANNI.

In the reign of the emperor Caracalla, an innumerable swarm of the Suevi appeared on the banks of the Mein, in the neighbourhood of the Roman provinces, in quest of food, plunder, or glory. This army of volunteers, composed of many different tribes, assumed the name of Alemanni, or *All-men*; to denote at once their various lineage, and their common bravery. The Alemanni fought chiefly on horseback; accompanied by the most active of their youth, who acted as light infantry, and by frequent exercise were enabled to keep up with them in the longest march, the most rapid charge, or the most precipitate retreat. They increased the disorder that attended the defeat and death of Decius, by making inroads into Gaul, and at length penetrated across the Danube, and through the Rhætian Alps, into the plains of Lombardy, advanced as far as Ravenna, and displayed their victorious banners almost within sight of Rome. The emperor

emperor Valerian was at that time engaged in the east, and Gallienus on the Rhine. The Senators at the head of the Prætorian guards, and such an army as they could immediately get together, occasioned them to retreat, laden with spoil. In another invasion of them, it is said that three hundred thousand were defeated near Milan, by Gallienus, at the head of only ten thousand Romans. Gallienus espoused Pipa the daughter of a king of the Marcomanni, a Suevic tribe, and to the father he granted an ample settlement in the country of Pannonia. The haughty prejudice of Rome refused the name of marriage to this alliance.

Conquest of the BOSPHORUS by the GOTHS.

The Goths, in their new settlement of the Ukraine, soon became masters of the northern coast of the Euxine. The banks of the Borysthenes are only sixty miles distant from the peninsula of Crim Tartary, known to the ancients by the name of Chersonesus Taurica. From the reign of Augustus, the kings of Bosphorus were the humble, and useful allies of the empire. The lineal succession of kings was interrupted by domestic factions

factions; and some obscure usurper seizing on the vacant throne, admitted the Goths into the heart of the Bosphorus. The Goths here obtained the command of a naval force, sufficient to transport their armies to the coast of Asia. This fleet leaving the coast of Circassia on the left, first appeared before Pityus, the utmost limits of the Roman empire. As long as that post was entrusted to Successianus, they could make no impression; but he being removed by Valerian to a more honourable, though less important station, they renewed the attack on Pityus, and carried it; obliterating the memory of their former disgrace. Circling round the eastern extremity of the Euxine sea, the navigation to Trebisond, is about three hundred miles. The numerous garrison of that double walled city, though reinforced with ten thousand men, was so dissolved in riot and luxury, that the Goths by raising a pile of fascines, entered the town in the middle of the night; the affrighted soldiers, went out at the opposite gates of the town, leaving the most holy temples, and the defenceless inhabitants, to a common destruction. The Goths returned to their kingdom of the Bosphorus,

rus, with a fleet found in the port, which they loaded with the spoil.

Second Expedition of the GOTHS.

A second expedition was undertaken with a greater force of ships and men; conducted on the western coast of the Euxine. At Chalcedon they fell in with the Roman garrison, more numerous than themselves, who deserted that important post, plentifully stored with arms and money. Then guided by a perfidious fugitive, they proceeded to Nicomedia, the capital of the kings of Bithynia, which together with Nice, Prusa, Apæmæa, and Cius, all great cities, were, in a few weeks, a like prey to their rage. They failed in their designs upon Cyzicus, and retreated to the maritime city of Heraclea, with an immense booty.

Third Expedition of the GOTHS.

The third fleet of the Goths, consisting of five hundred sail of ships, steered its destructive course from the Cimmerian to the Thracian Bosphorus, into the lake of Propontis.

Cyzicus had formerly withstood Mithridates, who had 400 gallies, and 150,000 foot and a numerous cavalry.

Their

Their landing on the little island of Cyzicus, was attended with the ruin of that ancient and noble city. At length they anchored in the port of Piræus, within five miles of Athens. Cleodamus, the emperor's engineer, was unable to resist their power. A general conflagration blazed out at the same time in every district of Greece. Thebes, Argos, Corinth and Sparta, shared an equal fate. The rage of war spread from the eastern point of Sunium to the western coast of Epirus. They advanced within sight of Italy. Naubolatus, a chief of the Heruli, accepted an honourable capitulation, was invested with the ornaments of consular dignity, and entered with a large body of his countrymen into the service of Rome. Great numbers broke into Mæsia with a design of forcing a way over the Danube to the Ukraine. The discord of the Roman generals prevented their inevitable destruction. A small number returned on board the vessels through the Hellespont and Bosphorus, and ravaging the shores of Troy, landed at Anchialus in Thrace, near the foot of Mount Hæmus; and, after all their toils, indulged themselves in those pleasant and salutary hot baths. The famous and celebrated temple of Diana at

VOL. II. F Ephesus,

Ephesus, was finally destroyed in this third naval expedition.

About this time Armenia was conquered by the Persians under Sapor, and the Emperor Valerian made prisoner. Sapor over-run Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia. He was at length obliged to pass the Euphrates by Odenathus, a noble and opulent senator of Palmyra : and thus the majesty of Rome, oppressed by a Persian, was protected by a Syrian, or Arab of Palmyra ; on whom Gallienus and the senate conferred the title of Augustus.

A long and general famine was the inevitable consequence of these rapines and oppressions ; and a furious plague ravaged every province, every city, and almost every family of the Roman empire, from the year 250, till the year 265. And many towns which had escaped the hands of the barbarians, were intirely depopulated ; and there is good reason to believe that war, pestilence and famine, had consumed in a few years, the moiety of the human species.

GOTHIC Expedition. A.D. 269.

The Goths prepared a greater armament than had ever yet issued from the Euxine sea ;

sea; consisting of two thousand, some say six thousand vessels, and three hundred and twenty thousand barbarians. They made descents on several places in Europe and Asia. Some of the chiefs went to Crete and Cyprus; the main body anchored near the foot of mount Athos, and assaulted the city of Thessalonica, the wealthy capital of the Macedonian provinces. The rapid approach of the emperor Claudius disconcerted their measures; they relinquished the siege, left their navy, and traversed the hills of Macedonia, pressing forward to engage the last defence of Italy. They were totally overthrown near Naissus, a city of Dardania. A select body of their youth was received among the Imperial troops; the remainder was sold into servitude; and so considerable was the number of the female captives, that

Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies.

1. The Huns of Attila.
2. The Abares in the sixth century.
3. The Turks or Magiars, A. D. 889, the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote.

every

every soldier had two or three to his share. By the latter one should conceive, that a settlement had been originally intended. A considerable body were driven into the most inaccessible parts of mount Hæmus.

On the death of Claudius, the remaining body of Gothic and Vandalic tribes abandoned the settlements of the Ukraine. They were encountered by the emperor Aurelian; the doubtful and bloody conflict ended with the night. Exhausted by many calamities during a twenty years war, the barbarians solicited a treaty, which was consented to by the emperor, on condition that they should furnish the armies of Rome, with an auxiliary body of two thousand cavalry. They stipulated for a safe retreat, and a regular market as far as the Danube, provided at the emperor's care, but at their expence. The province of Dacia was relinquished to them, and was soon after the firmest barrier of the empire.

ALEMANNI.

The Alemanni consisting of forty thousand horse and eighty thousand foot, fell upon

on the Rhætian border, and soon traced a line of devastation from the Danube to the Po. They were attacked by Aurelian, and obliged to sue for peace. He received their ambassadors, but refused their demands. The emperor being called into Pannonia, they traversed the Roman camp and the Danube, to invade Italy. Three bloody battles were fought, and at length the barbarians were exterminated near Pavia.

ALANI invade ASIA. A. D. 276.

The Alani, a Scythian people, who pitched their tents in the neighbourhood of the lake Mœotis, had engaged to furnish Aurelian with light cavalry to invade Persia. They were faithful to their engagements; but the death of the emperor prevented its taking place. This they considered as a behaviour trifling and perfidious, and prepared for revenge. The generals were not in a capacity, from their doubtful situation from that accident, to receive or oppose them. They soon spread themselves over the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Galatia. The emperor Tacitus satisfied many of them, and the rest he drove out of the provinces, who
were

were obliged to retire without plunder or prisoners.

FRANKS *invade* GAUL. A. D. 277.

The Burgundians of the Vandalic race, and the Lygians who resided on the frontier of Poland and Silesia, made an attack on Gaul, of these last the Aarii were the most daring people, they were defeated by the Emperor Probus, driven back, and the Aarii were never more heard of as a people. The deliverance of Gaul is said to have cost the lives of four hundred thousand of the invaders. Probus carried his army into Germany, and received the submission of nine of the most powerful princes, and a large tribute of corn, cattle, and horses. The country, which now forms the circle of Swabia, had been left a desert by the emigration of its inhabitants, in the age of Augustus. The fertility of the soil soon invited a new colony from the adjacent provinces of Gaul. To protect these new subjects, garrisons were stationed from the Rhine to the Danube. But the emperor Probus constructed a thick stone wall of a considerable height, strengthened by towers at proper distances. From the neighbourhood of Newstadt and Ratibon on the Danube, it stretched across hills,

hills, vallies, rivers, and moraffes, as far as Wimpfen on the Necker, winding a course of two hundred miles. Within a few years after his death, it was overthrown in many places by the Alemanni.

Probus exacted sixteen thousand recruits from the barbarians, who were dispersed by fifty's and sixty's, among the different quarters of the legions. He bestowed lands and cattle on new bodies of fugitives and captives. He transported a body of Vandals into Britain, probably Cambridgehire, who were very faithful to the state. Great numbers of Franks and Gepidæ were settled on the banks of the Danube; an hundred thousand Basternæ, expelled from their own country, were settled in Thrace, and soon imbibed the manners and sentiments of Roman subjects. The expectation of Probus was however disappointed; for the impatience and idleness of the barbarians, which could not brook the slow progress of agriculture, together with the unconquerable love of freedom, soon drove them into rebellion, and the important limit of Gaul was never after brought to its ancient vigour.

Surprizing

Surprizing Success in a daring enterprize of the
FRANKS. A. D. 279.

They had been established by Probus, on the sea-coast of Pontus, with a view of strengthening the frontier against the Alani. A fleet stationed in the Euxine, fell into their hands; in which they passed through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, plundering the unsuspecting shores of Greece and Asia, and sacked the famous and ancient city of Syracuse. They then passed through the Mediterranean to the columns of Hercules, then trusted themselves to the ocean, coasting round Spain and Gaul, steering through the British channel, and landed on the Batavian and Frizian shores.

SARMATIANS.

The Sarmatians seemed to unite the manners of the Asiatic barbarian with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe; sometimes confined to the banks of the Tanais, and sometimes spread over the immense plains between the Vistula and Volga. Their moveable camps were the ordinary residence of their wives and children, and consisted of large wag-gons drawn by oxen, and covered in the
form

form of tents. Their chief military strength was in their cavalry. They wore a kind of cuirass made of thin polished slices of horses' hoofs, laid over each other in the form of scales or feathers, sowed down to an undergarment of coarse linen. Their weapons consisted of bows and arrows, and short daggers. They had lances also, which, with their arrows, were headed with fish-bones, and dipt in some venomous liquid. Shaggy beards and uncombed locks, and their being wrapt in long garments of fur from head to foot, gave them the most complete hideous and savage appearance. They received the fugitive Vandals, who had been obliged to yield to the Gothic power, and choose a king from among them.

GOTHIC WAR, *A. D. 331, with the SARMA-
TIAN.*

The Goths and Vandals united against the Sarmatians, who were soon obliged to implore the assistance of the emperor Constantine. Araric, the Gothic king, boldly passed the Danube into the province of Mæsia. The Romans were worsted in the first engagement; but in a second, the Goths were defeated, and obliged to leave

the wasted province, and repass the Danube. The warlike people of Chersonesus, situate on the western coast of the Tauric or Crimæan peninsula, still retained some vestiges of a Grecian colony, co-operated with the emperor, and the Goths were subdued.

A. D. 334.

The Sarmatians, and Vandals who had joined them, were conquered by the Goths, without any interference of the emperor; and the Sarmatians tired of the Vandalic union, three hundred thousand of them were settled in Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia and Italy; some retired beyond the Carpathian mountains, and others joined the Quadi, their German allies.

QUADIAN and SARMATIAN WAR.

A. D. 357—358—359.

The Quadi, who had received the vanquished Sarmatians, adopted their arms and military arts, but they were obliged to give way to the Romans, under Constantius, and to part with their Sarmatian friends. In this war the Limigantes were extirpated, and the Sarmatian tribes put in possession of their lands. One Zizais, was made their king by the Romans, by the name of Sarmaticus,

Sarmaticus, who always maintained a zealous and honorable attachment to the empire.

ALEMANNI.

The Alemanni, during these troubles, made inroads into Gaul; but were repulsed in two campaigns by Julian. Their king Cnodomar, with six others, and ten princes leading thirty-five thousand of their choicest troops, were defeated in a pitched battle near Strasburgh, by Julian, with a feeble army of thirteen thousand. Six hundred of them slain, and many drowned in the Rhine. Cnodomar and three of his companions, were made prisoners. The Romans lost four tribunes and two hundred and forty-three soldiers.

FRANKS. A. D. 358.

The Franks, who were seated on the confines of Gaul and Germany, rather from a disinterested love of war, than a desire of plunder, seized two castles on the Meuse. After suffering great hardships, they were made prisoners by Julian, who stretching his legions from Cologne to the Ocean, soon obliged them to sue for peace. The Chamavians retreated to their habitations beyond the Rhine: and the Salians were allowed

to

to possess their new establishment in Toxandria. The great and wise conduct of Julian, restored the province of Gaul to peace and happiness, which had been long exposed to the evils of civil discord, barbarian war, and domestic tyranny.

First Division of the Eastern and Western Empire in June 364, by VALENTINIAN and VALENS.

In the castle of Mediana, three miles from Naissus, was executed the solemn and final division of the Roman empire. Valentinian bestowed on his brother Valens the rich præfecture of the east, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia; whilst he reserved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from thence, to the foot of Mount Atlas.

ALEMANNI invade GAUL. A. D. 365.

Before Valentinian could cross the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames. In the beginning of the next year, they broke thro'

Naissus is a city of Dardania in Mæsia Superior near to Mount Hæmus,

the

the barrier of the Rhine. Two Roman counts were defeated and killed; the Batavians and Heruli lost their standards, and after some disgrace, having recovered their standards, the Batavians were admitted to pardon. They were afterwards defeated by Jovinus, with the loss of ten thousand killed and wounded; and with the loss of twelve hundred on the part of the Romans.

A. D. 368.

The emperor Valentinian passed the Rhine, and defeated the Alemanni in the duchy of Wirtemberg.

BURGUNDIANS. A. D. 371.

The Burgundians, of the Vandalic race, possessed Luface and Thuringia, and had increased to a great nation. They had been in frequent contests with the Alemanni, concerning some salt-pits. The policy of fomenting these feuds, among the barbarians, had of late been much attended to by the emperor, who crossed the Rhine, and obliged eighty thousand of the Burgundians to retire, and fortified the country in many parts.

The

SAXONS.

The sea-coast of Gaul and Britain was exposed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domestic interest, escaped the notice of Tacitus. The present dutchy of Sleswick or Holstein, assigned by Ptolemy, was incapable of furnishing the inexhaustible swarms who poured forth to fill the British island, and who so long defended the liberty of the north against Charlemagne. It is most probable, the numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furnished by the natives of the shores of the Baltic, as every tide of the Elbe might float down canoes of hardy associates. The various troops of pirate adventurers, were first united from motives of rapine, but became a permanent society, and well regulated government, under the name of Saxons. Their boats of light timber, with sides and upper-works of wicker-work, covered with hides, were but frail machines to encounter so rude an ocean as the Baltic, and the coasts of Gaul and Britain must often have exposed them to shipwreck. But so dextrous were these daring pirates, that they rejoiced in tempests, which at once served

ved to disperse their enemies, and hide their own designs. These boats were of an admirable construction for their desultory kind of war, for they drew so little water they could proceed to the utmost parts of navigable rivers, and were so light, that they were easily transported on waggons. The Saxons who entered the Seine, or the Rhine, soon found their way to the Mediterranean, by the Rhone.

A. D. 371.

Under the reign of Valentinian, they made an attempt on Gaul, but were disappointed by Severus, who surrounded, and obliged them to relinquish their spoil, and to yield a band of most tall and robust youth to serve in the Imperial armies. The treaty which followed, was violated most shamefully by the Romans, with an intent of putting the whole to the sword; which treachery was frustrated by an accident.

Picts and Scots.

The resemblance of language, religion, and manners, attest the islands of great Britain, from the coast of Kent to the extremity

mity of Caithness and Ulster, to have had a Celtic origin, and to have been peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. The Roman province of Britain, was reduced to the state of civilized and peaceful servitude: the rights of savage freedom were contracted to the limits of Caledonia; which, in the time of Constantine, was divided into the two tribes of Scots and Picts; the former dwelling on the hills, the other on the plains. It is probable that in some remote period of antiquity, that the fertile plains of Ulster received a colony of wandering hungry Scots. It is certain that in the decline of the Roman Empire, Caledonia, Ireland and the Isle of Man were inhabited by the Scots. Six years after the death of Constantius they made inroads into England, which were carried on at the same time by the Picts and Saxons, from the wall of Antoninus to the shores of Kent; and from that time to the Plantagenets, the same rage of rapine instigated the poor and hardy Caledonian. In the campaigns of 368 and 369, Theodosius restored the Britains to security, by defeating and chasing the Scots to the distant islands of Orkney.

GOTHIC

GOTHIC WAR. A. D. 366.

The Goths now began to assume the consequence of interfering in the nomination of an emperor to the Romans; and embraced the party of Procopius. The Visigoths passed the Danube with thirty thousand men, though they had stipulated for ten only; but Procopius had been defeated and killed before their arrival, and they were obliged to lay down their arms to the general of Valens. A state of tranquility subsisted six years; till they were impelled against the Roman empire by an innumerable host of Scythians, who appeared to issue from the frozen regions of the North.

WAR of the QUADI and SARMATIANS,
A. D. 374.

Gabinus, king of the Quadi, was murdered by Marcellinus in a most brutal and treacherous manner. These people were much declined in their power since the age of Antoninus. However, by the assistance of cavalry from the Sarmatians, they invaded Pannonia in harvest time, which they plundered, and, if they had been industrious, they might have surprized Sirmium; but Probus putting

it in a state of defence, they turned upon Equitius, master-general of the frontier, and destroyed two legions; the veteran strength of the Mærian and Pannonian bands. They were at length defeated by Theodosius. Valentinian set out to take a bloody revenge on the Quadi. He passed the Danube; and receiving their ambassadors, he in a fury of anger, which he indulged on that occasion, burst a blood-vessel and expired instantly in November 375.

HUNS and GOTHS, A. D. 376.

The invasion of the Huns precipitated the Gothic nation on the provinces of the west; which in less than forty years, advanced from the Danube to the Atlantic.

Manners of the SCYTHIANS, or TARTARS.

In every age, the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by various tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refused to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdained the confinement of a sedentary life. They have been always famous for an invincible courage, which has often overturned the thrones of Asia, and spread terror over the most fertile
and

and warlike countries of Europe. The same sort of people are now seen on the banks of the Borysthenes and the Volga, that are set forth in the narratives of antiquity.

Their diet consists of flesh and milk; and they are little curious of the kind, whether sheep, oxen, or horses, or whether they die of disease, or are killed; and are as little solicitous about their cookery. They sometimes smoke the flesh, or dry it in the sun, to preserve it, when it is sufficiently cured for their use. On a sudden emergency, they provide themselves with a quantity of little balls of cheese, or rather hard curd, proportionate to the occasion, which they dissolve in water; and can support themselves many days on this unsubstantial diet. They extract from mare's milk, a fermented liquor, which intoxicates; but are better pleased to come at wines. Like other savages, they are patient in hunger, and intemperate in plenty. The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, to the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of a size that may be conveniently carried on waggons, drawn by a team
of

of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks are brought within the camp in the evening. When the forage in one quarter is consumed, they move to another; in the summer to the north and in the winter towards the south; pitching their tents on the banks of a river, or in the neighbourhood of a running stream. The camp, and not the soil, is the native country of the Tartar; in which his family, companions, and riches are included. The thirst of rapine, has always been sufficient incitement to advance boldly into any country. Their leisure is usually spent in the violent and sanguinary exercise of the chase. They are so active on horseback, that they are supposed to be able to eat, drink, and even sleep on their horses. They are dexterous with the lance, bow and arrow. They are always in training for war; for it is but to change the object to a human enemy, the exercise, skill, discipline, patience and valour which they continually practice in the hunting of wild beasts, serve as a prelude to the conquest of a kingdom. They have a great pride in their genealogy; and all consider themselves as the descendants of the first founder of their tribe: and to the head they yield a ready obedience, as a judge, in peace,
and

and leader, in war. In failure of children, the chieftain adopts the bravest of the tribe; and all the Khans from Crimea, to the wall of China, are lineal descendants of Gingis. The Tartar sovereign, is entitled to the tenth of the property of his subjects, and of the spoil.

The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine sea, and settled colonies on its coasts, discovered Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, and Mount Caucasus. On the east, the province of Persia was often exposed to the violence of the wild inhabitants beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, which direct their course to the Caspian sea. From the mouths of the Danube to the sea of Japan, is about five thousand miles, and from the fortieth degree of latitude, one may advance one thousand miles to the northward, before the progress is stopped by the excessive cold of Siberia; which contains the subterranean dwellings of the Tongouzes, and Samoides: the want of horses and oxen is supplied by rein-deer and large dogs, to a deformed set of wretches who tremble at the sound of arms. The Huns who threatened the empire
under

under Valens, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China. In the third century before Christ, a wall of fifteen hundred miles was built, to defend China from their irruptions; but it did not avail against an army of cavalry of two or three hundred thousand, who laid the empire under tribute of money, silks and even virgins, which was annually exacted. China has been twice conquered by them: but from the year one hundred and forty-one to that of eighty-seven before Christ, the emperor Vouti subdued them: but of one hundred and forty thousand who went on the expedition and pursued them into a distant part, only ten thousand returned. Two great emigrations took place towards the Oxus and the Volga: the first seated themselves on the extensive plains of Sogdiana, on the eastern side of the Caspian sea; the second division gradually advanced to the north-west, where necessity compelled them to exchange the silks of China, for the furs of Siberia. In the thirteenth century, their transient residence on the eastern banks of the Volga, was called Great Hungary. They remained a century under the protection of the Russians; but returned to the frontiers
of

of China, in one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one. The transmigration consisted of three hundred thousand persons, under fifty thousand tents.

The first occasion the Huns had to show themselves to the Romans, was soon after they had advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a pastoral people who occupied a tract of the deserts of Scythia. The plains between the Tanais and Volga, were covered with the tents of the Alani. Towards the north, they penetrated Siberia. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood, had improved the features of the Alani, and tinged their hair with a yellowish cast. They were less deformed than the Huns, but equal to them in savageness. A naked scymetar, stuck into the ground, was the only object of their religious worship; and the scalps of their enemies formed the trappings of their horses. They were however subdued and extirpated by the Huns: some took refuge in the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian sea, where they still preserve their name and independence; others joined the northern tribes of Germans; and some

some confederated with their conquerors, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

GOTHIC WAR *with the HUNS*, A. D. 375.

The great Hermanric, whose dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, was alarmed by an invasion of the Huns, who were deemed barbarians by the Goths. The Huns differed from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, small black eyes, deeply buried in their heads, and being almost destitute of beard. The Ostro and Visigoths were unable to stand against the force of the Huns: and the royal race of the Amali became the subjects of the haughty Attila. The body of the Visigoth nation implored the protection of the eastern emperor Valens, in three hundred and seventy-six, who caused them to be transported across the Danube into Thrace. The whole mass was supposed to amount to a million. The children were conveyed away; and their arms, which by treaty, were to have been given up, were preserved to them through the lust, avarice, and perfidy of the Roman officers, who bartered them against the prostitution of the wives and children of the unhappy Goths. The Ostrogoths sent ambassadors

bassadors to solicit the same indulgence, but were refused. The rapacious avarice of the Roman generals stript the Goths of every thing valuable and necessary, but artificially raising the price of every thing useful; and extorted from these miserable people, their slaves, and even daughters, to preserve themselves and children from starving. The Ostrogoths availed themselves of this discontent, and of the neglect of the Roman generals, who had disarmed the ships and fortifications on the Danube; which they passed with their king, and united with the Visigoths, who, together, defeated the treacherous Lupicinus; and that victory put an end to the distress of the Goths, and the security of the Romans. They ravaged Thrace, and there finding a party of Goths, they undertook the siege of Hadrianople; to which, they were, however, unequal; and their king, who soon perceived he should not succeed, declared, "he was at peace with stone walls," and sought revenge for his disappointment in the adjacent country. The emperor Valens contented himself, by entrusting the care of the war to his generals Trajan and Profuturus, who attacked their camp near the six mouths of the Danube.

The contest was well disputed on both sides, with a great loss; but without victory declaring for either in this battle of Salices. The Romans would have been ruined by such another contest; the Goths however neglected it, and the Romans had conceived, and began to execute a well concerted plan, which, was intended to crush them with their own weight; by confining the Visigoths in the narrow angle between the Danube, the deserts of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus: but an alarm of a fresh swarm of barbarians having crossed the Danube, obliged the Roman general Saturninus to relinquish the siege of the Gothic camp. The Goths were reinforced with Alani, Sarmatians, and several hords of the Huns.

ALEMANNI. A. D. 378.

The Alemanni attacked Gaul, on the invitation of a countryman, who was a soldier in the life-guards of Gratian, who informed them of its weakness, by the legions being most of them marched to defend the eastern frontier. The legions were, however, ordered back, and the Alemanni were defeated with great slaughter near Colmar, in the plains of Alsace. Valens undertook to march and encounter

- counter the Goths; and consulting his pride and arrogance only, refused to wait for the legions from the west. On the ninth of August 378, he attacked the Goths, and received a complete overthrow: the Roman cavalry, unable to make head against the violent and reiterated shocks of the Scythian horse, fled, and the infantry was cut to pieces.

The loss of this day far surpassed that which Rome had sustained in the fields of Cannæ: the emperor, two great officers of the palace, thirty-five tribunes, and above two-thirds of the army, were killed. The barbarians again besieged Hadrianople; but being again repulsed, they ravaged the country to the gates of Constantinople. It happened there that a party of Saracens, whom Valens had luckily taken into his service, issued from one of the gates of the city, and soon made known their superior force in horses and men, over those of Scythia. But if the Huns were in amazement at their surprizing agility and courage, they were no less so to see the Saracens rise above them in the savage ferocity of their manners. A Gothic soldier was slain by the dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked savage, applying his lips to the wound, expressed

expressed a horrid delight, while he sucked the blood of his vanquished enemy.

The sons of the Goths, who had been judiciously distributed through the cities of the East, had, in the space of twelve years, attained the strength and spirit of manhood. It was impossible to conceal from them the events of the Gothic War; and, they could not avoid the betraying their wish to emulate the glorious example of their fathers; which seemed to justify the jealous suspicions of the provincials, for the public safety. Julius, the master general of the troops, consulted the senate of Constantinople, after the death of Valens, and obtained permission to proceed as he thought best for the public good. He then made known his bloody design to some of the chief officers; and an order was promulgated, that, on a stated day, the Gothic youth should assemble in the capital cities of their respective provinces; and it was reported they were to receive a liberal gift of lands and money. At the same hour, in all the cities of the East, an indiscriminate slaughter took place; and the provinces were, by the cruel prudence of Julius, delivered from their fears.

The

The loss of forty thousand men in the battle of Salices, might soon have been recruited in the populous provinces of the East. The studs of Spain and Cappadocia would easily have furnished a body of cavalry to oppose that of the barbarians; and the thirty-four arsenals of the empire, were plentifully stored with magazines of weapons, offensive and defensive; and the wealth of Asia, might still have yielded an ample fund for the expences of the war. But the effects which the last battle produced on the minds of the barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a single day. A Gothic chief was heard to say, with insolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued with slaughter; but that he was astonished, how a people, who had fled before him like a flock of sheep, could still presume to dispute the possession of their treasures and provinces. If the great Theodosius, (a name he justly deserved) who had been called to the command of the empire, had hastily collected his scattered forces, and led them into the field against the victorious enemy, such impression of terror was in the minds of the Roman soldier, that they would have been
vanquished

vanquished by their own fears. But he conducted this momentous business, like a firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head-quarters at Thessalonica, the capital of the Macedonian province; from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from Constantinople to the shores of the Hadriatic. The fortifications and garrisons were strengthened; and from these secure stations, sallies were made as often as occasions were offered; which gave a superiority in favour of his troops, till by degrees, the troops, by their own experience, were convinced of the possibility of conquering what they deemed an invincible enemy: by which means he at the same time contributed to subdue the pride of the barbarians, and animate the hopes and courage of his subjects. Neither from Fabius, or Scipio, or on any other occasion, had the republic received more salutary assistances from councils or actions; all of which was achieved by the great mind of Theodosius, while his body most unseasonably languished, under a long and dangerous disease.

The

DIVISIONS of the BARBARIANS.

From A. D. 379 to 382.

The deliverance and peace of the Roman provinces was more the work of prudence than valour. The death of Fritigern, the predecessor and master of the great Alaric, whose wisdom had cemented so many capricious minds in union, at once dissolved the bands of agreement, and each nation was left to its own intemperance of opinion. The Huns and Alani upbraided the Goths with their former flight; and the jealousies of the Ostro and Visigoths could be no longer suspended. Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, became a valuable acquisition to the Roman standard: he surprized an army of his countrymen, immersed in wine and sleep, and after a cruel slaughter, returned to the Roman camp with four thousand waggons laden with spoil.

GRUTHINGI, or OSTROGOTHS.

From A. D. 383 to 395.

An invasion of the Gruthingi or Ostrogoths, was soon followed by a defeat under

der the prudence of Theodosius; and, by a treaty afterwards, a numerous body of them was planted in Phrygia and Lydia, and a colony of Visigoths was settled in Thrace; whose immediate wants were supplied by a distribution of corn and cattle. Theodosius took forty thousand of them, for the perpetual service of the East; and had the address to persuade his new confederates, that the conditions of peace had been extorted from him, by his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation. The native courage of these confederates would be improved by the use of arms, and of discipline; but, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the barbarians, the last sparks of military flame, were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate such numerous tribes of barbarians; that they might be polished by time, and the influence of the Christian religion; and that their posterity would insensibly blend with the great body of the Roman people. Notwithstanding these specious arguments, it was apparent to every discerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the

the enemies, and might soon become the conquerors of the Roman empire.

Second Division of the ROMAN EMPIRE,

A. D. 395.

The empire of the whole Roman world, which had been united in Theodosius, the last of the successors of Augustus and Constantine, who appeared in the field at the head of armies, was again divided, on his death, between his sons Arcadius and Honorius; the former, then eighteen years of age, resided in Constantinople, where he appeared to reign over the provinces of Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, from the Lower Danube to the confines of Persia and Æthiopia. His younger brother, Honorius, assumed, at eleven years of age, the nominal government of Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain and Britain; and the troops, which guarded the frontiers of his kingdom, were opposed, on one side, to the Caledonians, and on the other to the Moors. The great and martial præfecture of Illyricum was divided. The defence and possession of Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, still belonged to the Western empire; the two large dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia, were for ever united to the empire of the East.

VOL. II.

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The

The boundary in Europe was not very different from the line which now separates the Germans and the Turks; and the division of the empire, seems to have been fairly balanced in strength and riches.

Revolt of the GOTHs, A. D. 395.

Theodosius died in January; and before the end of the winter of the same year, the barbarian auxiliaries erected their independent standard, and boldly avowed the hostile designs they had long cherished. The barriers of the Danube were thrown open to the savage warriors of Scythia; and the various troops of Barbarians, who gloried in the Gothic name, were spread from the woody shores of Dalmatia, to the walls of Constantinople.

GOTHs ravage GREECE, under ALARIC.

Alaric, who had solicited and been refused a command in the Roman armies, had some thoughts of beginning his great projects with the siege of Constantinople; but on due consideration, believing himself unequal to the task, he entered Greece without opposition, and it was suspected not without treachery

treachery on the part of Rufinus. The troops posted to defend the streights of Thermopylæ might have stopt him, but they retreated as they were directed, and left the country open to the ravages of Alaric. Athens was ransomed. Corinth, Argos, and Sparta, yielded without opposition. Thebes by accident escaped. It may be observed here, that, at this time, Alaric, and many tribes of the Goths, had embraced Christianity.

Alaric was attacked and beat by the Roman general Stilicho; and his whole army was in the greatest danger of being obliged to surrender prisoners, if the too great confidence of the general had not made him neglectful. Alaric watched the proper occasion, and broke through the Roman entrenchments which surrounded him, and entered Epirus, where he secretly concluded a treaty with the court of Constantinople; and the next year was made master-general of Illyricum, and was proclaimed king of the Visigoths.

ALARIC invades ITALY. A. D. 400.

Stilicho undertook the defence of Italy,
against

against the arms of the Goths, with great zeal and activity. Honorius, however, was obliged to fly from his palace at Milan, on the approach of Alaric, and was near being made prisoner by the Gothic cavalry. Alaric besieged the emperor in Asta, a fortified town in Liguria or Piedmont; but it was relieved by Stilicho, who defeated the Goths in a bloody battle at Pollentia, and a second time near Verona. At the triumph of Honorius, on account of these successes, the fight of gladiators was exhibited for the last time. Alaric passed the Appenines and boldly meditated an attack upon Rome. Stilicho thought it safer to bargain for his retreat than to risk the consequences that might attend the pressing him to the utmost. The emperor Honorius changed his residence, from Milan to Ravenna, after the retreat of the barbarians, who went to the north of the Euxine.

Emigration of VANDALS, SUEVI, and BURGUNDIANS, under RADAGAIUSUS, A. D. 406.

Radagaisus, a barbarian chief, by some called king of the Goths, issued from the same coast of the Baltic which had formerly poured

poured forth the Cimbri and Teutones, at the head of a formidable host of two hundred thousand fighting men, which, by the accession of slaves, women, and children, might amount to four hundred thousand, broke through the defences of the upper Danube, passed into Italy, and undertook the siege of Florence. Stilicho marched against him, with such troops as he could get together; assisted by some of the Goths, Huns, and Alani. He surrounded the camp of the barbarians; and, by famine, reduced the army to surrender. Radagaisus was shamefully beheaded.

ITALY invaded by ALARIC. A. D. 408.

The intrigues and treachery of the court of Ravenna, induced Alaric to resolve to march to Rome. It was now six hundred and nineteen years, since Rome had seen an enemy at its gates. It was rather a blockade than a siege; and which was attended by famine and plague.

ROME Besieged and Sacked.

A. D. 409—410.

Alaric accepted a ransom and raised the siege; but after some fruitless negotiations
with

with the court of Ravenna, he besieged it a second time, and it was delivered up to him. He created Artalus, the præfect of the city, emperor of the Goths and Romans, and next year degraded him, and Rome was again besieged and sacked. Thus was the mistress of the world, after a sovereignty of eleven hundred and sixty three years, delivered up to the licentious fury of the barbarian tribes of Germany and Scythia.

Alaric, after having evacuated Rome, plundered the fruitful country of Campania, died, and was succeeded by his brother-in-law Adolphus, who concluded a treaty of peace with the emperor, and married Placidia, the daughter of Theodosius. He marched into Gaul in 412, and soon extended his quarters from the Mediterranean to the ocean. He afterwards marched into Spain, died, and was succeeded by Singeric, who conquered and restored Spain to the empire. His victorious Goths were seated in Aquitaine in 419; and about the same time, in the last years of Honorius, the Goths, Burgundians, and Franks, obtained a permanent seat and dominion in Gaul; which, was effected with a degree of kindness and humanity that
could

could never have been expected from their appearance, and behaviour a few years before.

Revolt of BRITAIN and ARMORICA,

A. D. 409.

The island of Britain, and the Armorican provinces, which comprehend the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and Loire, expelled the Roman magistrates, and established a free government; and their independance was soon after confirmed by Honorius.

In the war of 422, between the Romans and Persians, Armenia was divided between the two powers.

GENSERIC, king of the VANDALS land in AFRICA,

A. D. 429.

Genferic, whose assistance had been implored by the Roman general, in Africa, passed over there at the head of his Vandals and the Alani; who, in the course of twenty years, exchanged the rigorous climate of the Elbe, and the cold plains of Scythia, for the excessive heats of Africa. Boniface repented of his error, though too late;

late ; and, with the Roman garrisons, returned to his allegiance ; but it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice, which he had shaken to the ground. The band of veterans, and his new raised levies, were defeated with considerable loss ; and the whole open country became a prey to the barbarians, who took Hippo and Carthage five hundred and eighty-five years after its destruction by Scipio.

HUNS, *from 376 to 433.*

In the reign of Attila, the Huns became again the terror of the world. They had been in alliance with the Romans for some time ; and Ætius, the Roman general, had given up to them the province of Pannonia. In the year 433, he exacted a tribute from the Romans.

HUNS, *433 to 453.*

Attila, like some other great conquerors, thought it prudent to unite the arts of religion with the power of his sword ; and in order to work on the minds of his followers, he insinuated a confidence of victory, by persuading them that he had found the sword of Mars. He united the two mighty

ty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia : Thuringia also was in the number of his provinces. He interposed with great weight among the Franks ; and almost extirpated the Burgundians of the Rhine. He subdued those islands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic. Towards the East he reigned from the banks of the Volga, across the Scythian deserts, to the borders of China: the Gepidæ and the Ostrogoths acknowledged his sovereignty. When his military force was collected, it amounted from five to seven hundred thousand barbarians. He had more-over the reputation of a great magician.

HUNS, *A. D.* 430 to 440.

A party of the Huns invaded Persia, and returned to their settlement with horses from Cappadocia, and other spoils. Attila destroyed, with fire and sword, the cities of Sirmium, Singidunum, Ratiaria, Marcianopolis, Naissus and Sardica : the whole breadth of Europe from the Euxine to the Hadriatic, was at once invaded and overrun by the numerous barbarians. The Romans having been defeated in three engagements, they ravaged the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Constantinople alone was pro-

ted by its walls. In the treaty of peace, Attila stipulated for the annual payment of two thousand one hundred pounds of gold; and for the immediate sum of six thousand.

Junction of Force under ÆTIUS, A. D. 450.

Attila threatened both empires, but determined on invading Gaul. At the siege of Orleans, a junction of Romans, Visigoths, Læti, Sarmatians or Alani, Ripuarians,* and Franks, obliged him to raise the siege; and on the plains of Chalons, a most bloody battle was fought: the number of the slain has been computed, from one hundred and sixty-two, to three hundred thousand men. Attila was obliged to retreat; but he invaded Italy, and laid siege to Aquileia, the strongest city on the Hadriatic coast, which he destroyed, and ravaged Lombardy, and got possession of the palace of Milan.

VENICE.

Venice was founded at this time from a confederacy of families who had escaped the destructive sword of Attila; from the

* People from the Borders of the Rhine and Meuse.
cities

cities of Aquileia, Padua and the adjacent towns; and is considered by an eminent writer, as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic.

Death of ATILA, and ruin of his Empire, 453.

Attila having given peace to the Romans, died. His empire, a huge and disjointed fabric, which his genius alone had established and was able to sustain, fell immediately to pieces: the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior, and the whole mass became agitated with jealousies and divisions; which brought on a battle amongst the different parties. Thirty thousand men were killed when victory declared Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the seat of a new power.

VANDALS, 439 to 455, sack ROME.

The Vandals and Alani, under Genseric, having acquired a rich and fertile territory, which reached from Tangier to Tripoli, built a fleet and passed over to Sicily; which
they

they conquered, and returned to Africa; and three months after the elevation of Maximus to the command of the empire, he equipped a fleet of Vandals and Moors, anchored in the Tyber, and sacked Rome in the month of June 555.

Naval War of the VANDALS, 391 to 497.

The kingdom of Italy, to which the western empire was gradually reduced, was the prey of Vandalic piracy. The fleets of Genseric repeatedly visited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tuscany, Campania, Lucania, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily, and spread desolation

N O T E S.

493.

Italy was first conquered by the Heruli, a people from the borders of the Black Sea, who were soon expelled by the Ostrogoths. They acknowledged the Emperors of Constantinople their superiors in rank only. Ravenna was the seat of their court, which in magnificence vied with ancient Rome; as their equitable administration did with the reigns of Trajan and Antoninus. They were subdued by Belisarius and Narfes, the generals of Justinian, who united Italy once more to the Greek empire.

570.

Great part of Italy was seized by Alboinus, king of the

from the columns of Hercules, to the mouth of the Nile.

A. D. 468.

A fleet of eleven hundred and thirteen vessels, containing a hundred thousand men, was equipped, and sailed from Constantinople to Carthage. A truce took place, which saved Genseric, who soon after attacked the fleet; and Basilus returned to Constantinople, with the loss of more than half his fleet and army.

VISIGOTHS, A. D. 429 to 472.

The Visigoths determined on the extinction of the Roman empire in Spain, which they

the Longobards, or Lombards, a Gothic nation. Paiza was the place of his residence, and of his successors. Alboinus established the feudal policy, settling his chief officers, under the titles of dukes, in the great cities of every province. The same was done in Italy, in the provinces belonging to the Greek Empire; the exarch or supreme governor of which, resided at Ravenna, appointing dukes and removing them at pleasure. Even Rome was governed by a Duke, and the name of Senate and Consuls abolished.

575.

On the death of Alboinus the Lombards changed their

they effected ; permitting the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Galicia under them.

End of the ROMAN Empire, A. D. 476 to 479.

Augustulus, the last emperor of the west, was dethroned, and banished to the Lucullan villa, by Odoacer, who was proclaimed king of Italy, at the head of a confederacy of mercenaries. He was the first Barbarian king of the Romans.

VISIGOTHS, 476 to 485.

Euric, king of the Visigoths, was monarch of Spain and Gaul ; the Heruli, Saxons,

their form of government, and for ten years would have no king, but lived under their dukes ; when each became sovereign of its own city and district,

585.

Autharis was called to the throne. He allowed the dukes to remain, but reserved to himself the chief jurisdiction. He was the first christian of the Lombard kings, and the first who gave written laws,

663 to 866.

The emperor Constans landed in Italy ; but Grimoald, who was then king, prevented his getting any advantages.

Luitprand

ons, Vandals of Africa, and Ostrogoths of Pannonia, cultivated his useful friendship.

CLOVIS, *king of the FRANKS*, A. D. 481 to 511.

Clovis, on the death of his father Childeric, succeeded to the command of the Salian line. His kingdom was confined to the island of the Batavians, and the dioceses of Tournay, and Arras. The number of his warriors could not exceed five thousand.

712.

Luitprand was a prince of very eminent qualities. He formed the design of making himself master of all Italy. He took Ravenna; and most of the other of cities the Exarchate surrendered to his arms. He was in a fair way to be master of all Italy, but neither he nor his successors ever could complete it. The attempt proved fatal to the Lombards.

774.

Desiderius ravaged the papal territories, and threatened to lay siege to Rome; but unable to keep the field against Charlemagne, he retired to Pavia. The Lombards defended their city with the greatest valour; but a plague breaking out, he was obliged to deliver himself, wife, and family to Charles, who sent them into France, and they were no more heard of. Thus ended the kingdom of the Lombards, after 206 years.

land. The kindred tribes of Franks, along the Belgic rivers of the Scheld, Meuse, Moselle, and Rhine, joined in confederacy with him. When he first took the field, he had neither gold or silver, corn or wine.

A. D. 486.

His first victory was over Syagrius; who inherited as a patrimonial estate, the diocese and city of Soissons. In ten years after he defeated the Alemanni, and received their submission. He gradually subdued the exhausted countries as far as the Elbe and the mountains of Bohemia. He was a convert to Christianity in 496; and in the year 500, he conquered the Burgundians, whose kingdom laid between the Saone and the Rhone. In 507 he conquered the Visigoths, killing their king Alaric with his own hand. In 508, he conquered Aquitain, but receiving a check at Arles, he concluded a treaty of peace with the Visigoths, who were permitted to retain possession of Septimania, a narrow tract of sea-coast, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees.

Establishment

*Establishment of the FRENCH MONARCHY
in GAUL, 536.*

Twenty-five years after the death of Clovis, this important concession was finally declared in a treaty between his sons and the emperor Justinian. Arles and Marseilles had been given up to the Franks by the Ostrogoths. The Franks, or French, are the only people in Europe who can deduce a perpetual succession from the conquerors of the Western empire. The Visigoths on resigning their Gallic possessions, were allowed to settle quietly in Spain.

Descent of the SAXONS into Britain.

A. D. 449.

Forty years after the dissolution of the Roman government, Vortigern seems to have obtained the supremacy, and command of the princes and cities of Britain. Hengist and Horfa, whose assistance had been implored, delivered the island from the Caledonian invaders; and the isle of Thanet was allotted for the residence of the German auxiliaries.

SAXON *Heptarchy* founded. A. D. 455
to 583.

The coast of Britain was invaded in all parts by colonies from the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine; the Jutes, the Old Saxons, and the Angles; the former under Hengist. The barbarians, who insensibly were blended with this triple confederacy in hopes of plunder, consisted of Frizians, Danes, Prussians, Rugians, and some adventurous Huns; each conducting their separate operations as best suited with their force and private interests. But seven victorious leaders only, maintained the title of kings; and seven families, one of which has continued by female succession to our present sovereign, derived their equal and sacred lineage from Woden the god of war.

Here ends the narrative of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the west, about five centuries after the Christian *Æra*. At that unhappy period the Saxons fiercely struggled with the natives for the succession of Britain. Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths,
and

and the dependant kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians. Africa was exposed to the cruel persecution of the Vandals, and the savage inhabitants of Mauritania and Gætulia. Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of barbarian mercenaries, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodoric, the Ostrogoth. All the subjects of the empire, who by the use of the Latin language more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the disgrace and calamities of foreign conquest; and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe. The majesty of Rome was faintly represented by the princes of Constantinople, the feeble and imaginary successors of Augustus; yet they continued to reign over the East, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris. The Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were subdued by the arms of Justinian; and the history of the Greek Emperors may still afford a long series of instructive lessons, and interesting revolutions.

HERE ENDS MR. GIBBON'S HISTORY, ON THIS
SUBJECT.

SHORT REFLECTION
ON THE
RISE AND DECLINE
OF THE
ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE vast power of the Roman empire originated in its high national honour; founded perhaps at first, on the just and natural principle of self-defence, and in its inimitable system of military discipline and arrangement of force, in the composition and manœuvres of the legion. A long series of success in war, carried the empire beyond all reasonable limits; and the extent, on all sides, became too remote from the centre of Government, to be guided by

by a proper œconomy. The dependance of the emperors on the soldiery, insensibly became absolute; which brought on a relaxation of discipline, without remedy.

The home provinces were unable to furnish the vast and frequent calls for soldiers, to fill up the vacancies in the various and numerous military stations, and armies; and the emperors, from at first receiving the barbarian borderers as allies, admitted them into the Roman legions. These men finding themselves the more hardy, and better soldiers, were under little restraint; and being often more inclined to favour their countrymen, than their trust, their perfidy frequently occasioned irreparable mischiefs; till at length, Rome had no army in which it could confide, to oppose the continual influx of barbarians from all the northern regions; and the whole Roman empire, was seized and parcelled out amongst them, under the names of **GOTHS, VANDALS, and HUNS.**

OF THE

S A R A C E N S.

MAHOMET, the founder of the Mahometan religion, died in 633, and his countrymen animated by the the most violent spirit of fanaticism, soon after over-run most part of Asia, and Africa, their valour being irresistible. The Koran having promised Heaven and eternal sensuality to such as fell in battle, they rather courted dangers; and the conquerors always tendering liberty and protection, to those who embraced their superstition, they threatened the whole world with subjection. Count Julian, whose daughter had been dishonoured by king Roderic, invited them into Spain: nor is this circumstance improbable, considering the character of the times. The Saracens already

dy masters of Mauritania, or Barbary, soon effected a descent on Spain; and by the decisive battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, put an end to the empire of the Visigoths. Muza, viceroy of Africa under the caliph Walid, came over to finish the conquest. According to the prudent policy of these conquerors, the only enthusiasts who united the spirit of toleration with the zeal for making proselytes, offered the inhabitants their religion and laws, in consideration of being paid the same subsidy which had usually been paid to their sovereigns: such as embraced the Mahometan religion, were entitled to all their privileges. Oppas, the archbishop of Seville, was not ashamed to join the Mahometans, and sacrifice his country and religion to his hatred to Roderic. Pelagius, a prince of the blood, retired to the mountains of Asturias, with some followers, and founded a small kingdom, which by his valour he transmitted to his posterity.

A. D. 732.

The Saracens, unwilling to confine their ambition within the limits of the Pyrenees, made an attack upon Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, but without success. Abderaman the
new

new Emir or governor of Spain, in a second irruption, did penetrate as far as Sens; repelled by bishop Ebbo, he fell upon Aquitaine, vanquished the duke, and advanced towards the heart of France. Between Poitiers and Tours, Charles Martel put a stop to his career, killing the Emir and, some accounts say, three hundred thousand men. Spain was very miserable under the Moors, on account of the civil wars amongst their masters. Another Abderaman, called also Almanzor, founded an independent kingdom, consisting of the provinces which had been subject to the caliphs, and fixed his residence at Cordoua, which became the seat of arts, magnificence and pleasure. He had the policy and management almost to extinguish Christianity in his dominions. No prince in Europe equalled him in wisdom; nor any people the Arabs, in whatever tends to the aggrandizement of the soul. They had acquired a considerable share of knowledge and politeness, while the rest of mankind was sunk in ignorance and barbarism.

It was nearly the middle of the thirteenth century, before they were finally driven out of Spain, Portugal, and their islands in the Mediterranean.

OF THE

VARIOUS EXTENSIVE
WALLS AND ENTRENCHMENTS

WHICH HAVE BEEN

CONSTRUCTED BY THE ANCIENTS. *

THE Egyptians seem to have been the first people who thought of fortifying a country with a wall. From Heliopolis to Pelusium, a distance of nearly thirty leagues, they erected one against the Arabs; who, like Cambyfes and Alexander, had nothing to do but to take Pelusium to render

* Translated from *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Egyptiens et les Chinois*, par Mons. de Pauw.

As this account is much connected with the History of the Barbarian Nations, we have placed it here.

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the wall of no Effect. Two others were afterwards made by Pharaoh Nectanebe and Chabrias, a Grecian general, who went to the assistance of the Egyptians, nearly in the same direction.

There was a wall much better imagined, built to shut up the valley of Libanus and Antilibanus, to exclude the Scenite Arabians from Phœnicia.

The jews built a wall, from Joppa to Antipatris, of 150 stadia, to defend themselves against Antiochus. In going from Joppa along the Mediterranean coast, there was a wall built surrounding the provinces of Pamphilia and part of Pisidia, which is now discoverable; it was intended as a surety against the Isaurians, who were great robbers: no ancient author has written of it. In passing from thence to the centre of Asia, is found the great wall of Media, reaching almost from the Tigris to the Euphrates. Xenophon is the only author who mentions the having seen it. The length was twenty parasangays; it was a hundred greek feet high, and twenty in thickness. Artaxerxes added a ditch in front: it was meant, doubtless, to protect the south-side of Babylonia, against the

the people of Armenia and Mesopotamia. Before we come to the *Van-ly* or great wall of China, there were formerly two walls, or chain of entrenchments, to environ that vast portion of the globe, called Scythia, and now Tartary.

Among the Hyrcanian deserts was a canton of great beauty, called Margiana, with which Alexander was so well pleased as to resolve to build a city in it, which he did not live to execute, but it was done by Antiochus, son of Seleucus Nicator, who surrounded the province with a wall, not less than forty-five leagues in length: Margiana is on the south-east of the Caspian sea.

In the forty-second degree of N. latitude was the wall of Ilak, from mount Thalabeg to the valley of Allshash, twenty leagues in length, for the defence of Toncat in Ussbec Tartary.

Of all the works constructed for defence against the Tartars, the wall of China, supposed to be built two thousand years ago, is without contradiction the largest and the weakest; for in all these works,

works, as the grandeur increases the force diminishes. It was five hundred leagues according to some, not one hundred and sixty as others say, which could be properly named a wall, being the only part of it, of brick and mortar; and one may consider the whole as the most useless undertaking since the existence of the Globe: for in declining beyond the fortieth degree of latitude, China may be entered without knowing that the province of Chienfi is enveloped with a wall.

The Russians undertook a work of the same kind against the Tartars; from the neighbourhood of Toulâ in the government of Moscow, to Sibirski in Casan, 144 leagues.

The great route of the Tartars being between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, the entrances of mount Caucasus were walled up, in the district of Souanis; the vestiges of which remain. But the most considerable in that part of the world, was the wall of the Colchide, the great mart of trade of the Greeks and Phœnicians on the east-side of the Euxine, called *Murus Validus*, from its strength;

strength; yet Chardin could find no traces of it in 1672.

The Taurica Chersonesus, or Crimæa, was shut up by a wall in the same part - were now there are lines; so that from the Borythenes to the extremity of Asia, the inhabitants have endeavoured to shut out Tartary to the south; but the Tartars have at all times entered in spite of this great chain of entrenchments. The pastoral life, which some historians, who were not philosophers, have called the true state of innocence, excites to plunder more than any other; as all accounts of the followers declare, the name of Hord, or wandering tribe, being synonymous with that of robbers. The pastoral life is in its nature, against every idea of a *jus gentium*.

The number of provincial fortifications in Europe are very great also; and if they are not as remarkable for their extent, they are nevertheless for their having been of as little use. The Athenian colonies shut up the Thracian Chersonesus, from Pactys to Cardia. Manuel Palæologus, and after him, the Venetians, shut up the Isthmus of Corinth; but the Turks easily demolished it.

There

There was a long wall also beyond Hera-
clea to Decron, occupying the space from
the Propontide to the Euxine. The empe-
ror Valens shut up the entrance of mount
Hæmus, between Thrace and Theffaly.

There are ruins of a wall in Bulgaria, near
Dryfla ; and of another, called the wall of
Valais, between the Rhone and the Burg-
berg, to shut out the Swifs.

Agricola first built a wall in Britain, from
the Clyde to the Firth of Forth, only thirty-
two miles long. Hadrian took it in a wi-
der part, and made one of eighty miles ;
which was repaired by Antoninus Pius and
Severus : these first were probably no more
than entrenchments. But under Valentinian
the third, a wall was built of twenty feet in
thickness. But this is nothing to that built
in Germany, under Hadrian, from opposite
Ober-wefel, and continued under the other
emperors ; the last branch of which went to-
wards the Danube, was finished by Probus.
Another on the Rhine, opposite Bingen,
through the county of Solmes to the Meine ;
it then traversed the county of Holach,
touched the Neckar, and so to Hall in Sau-
bia, and terminated at Ratifbonne ; so that
there

there was no passage between the Rhine and the Danube. Another is seen from Vidin to Peterwariden on the Danube.

The Normans, as they began to be known by the name of Danes, built what is called Danewerk, to shut the Saxons out of Jutland. They constructed a terrace to the Baltic, which was afterwards made a wall by Waldemar the Great. Such is the history of the greatest and most useless works upon the surface of the ancient continent; for in proportion to the pains taken to make them strong, the military strength of all the countries respectively diminished.

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The Germans as they began to be known by the name of Danes, built what is called Danewerk, to shut the Saxons out of Jutland. They constructed a rampart to the Baltic, which was afterwards made a wall by Wall- demar the Great. Such is the history of the greatest and most noble works upon the surface of the ancient continent; for in proportion to the pains taken to make them strong, the military strength of all the countries respectively diminished.

And now, having seen the state of the continent, we shall see the state of the islands. The first of these is Great Britain, which was the seat of the British empire. The second is Ireland, which was the seat of the Irish empire. The third is the island of Iona, which was the seat of the Iona empire. The fourth is the island of Man, which was the seat of the Man empire. The fifth is the island of Jersey, which was the seat of the Jersey empire. The sixth is the island of Guernsey, which was the seat of the Guernsey empire. The seventh is the island of Alderney, which was the seat of the Alderney empire. The eighth is the island of Sark, which was the seat of the Sark empire. The ninth is the island of Guernsey, which was the seat of the Guernsey empire. The tenth is the island of Jersey, which was the seat of the Jersey empire.

SELECTIONS

FROM

LES

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES

AMERICAINS.

TRANSLATED

FROM THE FRENCH.

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SELECTIONS

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

AMERICAINES.

FROM THE FRENCH.

VOL. II.

THIS Work of Monsieur De Pauw, who died in 1786, has not been translated into English. It is the labour of a person of uncommon abilities, and knowledge in the Physical History of our Globe and its Inhabitants. A few subjects have been selected as worthy the notice of those who have not seen the work, and have any taste for disquisitions in Natural Philosophy.

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OF THE
CLIMATE OF AMERICA
AND ITS
EFFECTS.

AT the time of the discovery of America, the climate was so unfavorable to quadrupeds, that they were found to be one sixth less than on our hemisphere. It was also very pernicious to the human kind, who were very defective in their organization.

The country either consists of high pointed mountains, or is covered with marshes and forests. The Spaniards were compelled to eat each other, and sometimes the Americans. The French colonies were at first

first in no better situation. The English who returned from Virginia, were mere shadows; and none would go again, till the thirst of gold, which the reports fostered, surmounted all obstacles, and vanquished nature herself.

In the southern parts, and most of the islands, the lands were covered with corrupted stagnant waters, which the heat of the sun fermented, and made very unwholesome. Thick fogs, charged with marine salt, occasioned many poisonous vegetables, unknown in the other three quarters of the globe. Many plants that are tender here, were found to be tough shrubs in that hemisphere. Snakes, lizards, and reptiles of all kinds, were nourished in a climate so congenial to them, and grew to a prodigious size. Caterpillars, beetles, frogs, and toads are seen at Surinam, and some other parts, of an astonishing size. Fleas, bugs, pissmires of different sorts, muskitoes or gnats, and in fine all kinds of those vermin so disgusting to human nature, swarm in all parts.

Mr. Dumont speaks of frogs in Louisiana, of thirty-seven pounds weight, which made as much noise as a calf.

The

The ounce, tiger, and lion, are small and pusillanimous; wolves, and, in general, all quadrupeds are bastardized in that country.

The earth and waters have a prodigious quantity of worms; those that pierce our ships and are now in most of our rivers, are of American origin.

In the best accounts, taken from observations of Thermometers in different parts, it appears that the continent of America is twelve degrees colder than our hemisphere. Quebec and Paris, Hudson's bay and the Thames, are in equal latitudes; yet every one knows the extreme difference there is between them, as to cold.

Of all the animals carried from our hemisphere, the hogs have done the best. The rest have all been stunted in growth, or, in some other respects, received damage.

All the climates in America, where the English have settled, are, in a manner, totally changed, from the countries being cleared of wood, and drained of water.*

* Fifty years ago, they could scarcely grow wheat in Virginia; the ear did not fill. They now raise heavy good corn.

Of all the plants carried to America, rice, which succeeds best in humid soils, was the soonest brought to perfection; but is the most improper to be encouraged there, because the least proper to purify the air: for which reason it is banished out of France. The hot regions of Asia may possibly correct this disposition by the dryness of the air. Some alimentary plants have been brought from America, that have succeeded here wonderfully. Potatoes alone have been a treasure. All succulent and aquatic plants have generally done well in America; melons, cabbages, and things of that kind surprizingly.

People, united in society, have existed on our hemisphere for time immemorial; who brought manners to perfection, cultivated the arts and sciences, and were acquainted with the benefits attending social intercourse; raised handsome cities, domesticated animals for use, and in every sense ornamented the whole surface of the earth: whilst in the opposite hemisphere, nature was savage, the air thick and unwholesome, forests without beginning or end; where the rays of the sun had never penetrated; waters for ever fixed; the surface of the earth, instead of
lands

lands smiling with corn and pastures, was strewn over with reptiles and insects; with men, weak in body and mind; without a knowledge of forging iron, though they knew of the mines.

America contains about nine millions of square miles according to Templeman, and in this prodigious space, there were only two nations settled in political society: the rest were wanderers in small herds over forests, with scarcely enough of ingenuity to procure food.

The difference between the Hemispheres is total, as great as can be imagined. To pretend that the human race were new in America, is insupportable by argument. To say why there should have been so many ages one before the other in improvement, or that nature was obliged to do her work by intervals, or why she placed animals of a different kind there, and of a posterior date, would lead us into obscurity; since no new insect or animal is found, and that the germs of all things are apparently as old as the planet.

It is equally difficult to say from whence

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the inhabitants came, for there is not even the vague light of tradition to guide us : but the same is true indeed of every other nation on the face of the earth. We know, if we admit fables, the case may be made out ; for the first chapter in the annals of all nations is Romance. It is possible that war and pestilence might make a populous country a desert ; but from that we ought not to infer, that every desert has never been inhabited. In some countries the climate might keep down population, so as to admit of a constant scarcity of inhabitants.

The first state of every nation with which history is furnished, is that of savage. Each nation has the seeds of capability in them, but grope their way without rule or model to fix their conduct : for which reason the institutions in civil life have been so various ; being as often governed by climate, as by reason.

Some have never emerged from their infant state. The Eskimaux and Greenlanders have never cultivated the land, or built a house : the negroes have always been the same as now.

When

When a people are settled, they are half polished ; this can be done by agriculture alone : from this springs all notions of property, and whatever is necessary for civil life ; and from this standard we can measure the different degrees of moral perfection.

The cultivators are the first in order, because their existence is less precarious, and their way of life less turbulent : they have leisure to invent and improve their instruments, to think and to reflect. *

The Nomades, or pastors of cattle follow next : they are obliged to tend their herds, and of course are never settled. The Tartars, Arabs, Moors, and Laplanders are of this kind ; all of which are equidistant between the savage and the civil state.

There are nations who nourish themselves with the fruits of the earth without culture ; some of which, are more at their ease than the others ; all living in huts, made of the boughs of trees, or taking their rest in trees.

The fourth class subsist by fishing : these are not different from the Nomades, except that

that they have not their tamed herds. Their resource is in their dexterity, and at the hazard of their lives; but they are alike obliged to change their ground from time to time.

The hunters are the last class, and the most savage: wanderers, and uncertain of their daily subsistence, they dread an union with, and an increase of their fellow creatures, because the game, whose fecundity is not like that of fish, decreases in proportion to the number of its enemies; every step he sets is to get away from social life; his hut is for retreat, not for a lodging; always at war with man and beast, his instinct is ferocious; he is in human nature what the carnivorous animal is to the graminivorous.

America may possibly have undergone a later deluge, from some natural convulsion, than that on our own hemisphere; which observation may be countenanced by some monuments of destruction, and the natives from north to south having a tradition of a deluge. If this is admitted, the difference between the appearance of the two hemispheres may well exist, when we consider the effects of earthquakes and inundations.

Our

Our hemisphere, from the long exertion of the ingenuity and industry of mankind, may well have the appearance of greater antiquity. From what we see in a particular district, from an unwholesome situation, it is easy to conceive the physical evils that must befall a people dwelling in a corrupt air for ages. The effects from natural evaporation are slow, and at the same time unwholesome to animals and vegetables.

Montesquieu argued that it was the fertility of the soil that chained men down to savage life; whereas, it is the want of subsistence that keeps them from rising above it. The least reflection on the state of America when discovered, makes this quite plain; The natives were all fishers and hunters, and in no sense like those who sit at the foot of a tree and have only to reach out their hand for sustenance.

In some parts of America they have a knowledge of Maiz, or Indian corn; but the ground is sterile. At the time that the north of Europe was in a savage state, the inhabitants were, in a manner, immediately changed, as soon as Italy and Asia had communicated a knowledge of their grains and fruits.

According

According to the richness of a country in vegetables, society is more easily established ; from the south of Asia to Egypt, thence into Greece, from there to Italy, and so to the Gauls and Germans, this progression is exactly agreeable to the physical fecundity of each country. If every thing were restored, there would remain to Germany scarcely any thing that could now be deemed an aliment.

The ancient Scythians were different savages from the American ; they loved their women ardently, whilst the Americans despise and are cruel to them. The latter are like the beasts who assemble at seasons, and separate, each to seek for their food ; they increase the evils of all kind that nature had loaded them with.

It is natural for those in savage life to troop together, and to be the enemies of each other, in a great degree. Tartars, Arabs, Abyssinians, Negroes, Caffres, all partake of this.

Wherever property is not fixed, men fight to prevent it, and where it is declared, men fight to maintain it ; so that it is the greatest

greatest effort of virtue to love one another, which cannot be done, without pardoning many things. Where the wants of the same kind are always before the eye, it is easy to conceive how difficult it must be to be always just, and in peace; besides the common misfortune is, that if the many are inclined to order, the avarice or wickedness of a few may throw the whole into blood and confusion.

The Americans are also totally unlike the northern savages of our hemisphere, who had a notion of freedom. The Americans in proportion to the interest they took in things belonging to them, were in the same manner distant from the incitement which attends a noble way of thinking. They thought of nothing but their existence, and on all occasions have behaved like robbers, who watch an opportunity to surprize and murder. Whereas the savages of our hemisphere often defeated the bravest and best disciplined men in the world, in the open and fair trial of courage. Savage life is far from extinguishing courage in the heart of man. The timidity of the Americans, came from the causes we have mentioned,

The

The American, properly speaking, is without the motive to be either wicked or virtuous ; his timidity, weakness of mind, necessity to procure a maintenance in the midst of scarcity, and the influence of climate, all produce an insensible indifference. His happiness is in a vacuity of mind and inaction, to think of nothing when he has victuals, and when hungry, to provide it. He would have no hut, if the weather did not oblige him ; he is a child to the last moment of his life ; he foresees nothing, improves nothing, naturally lazy, and revengeful through weakness. He is atrocious in that revenge, because he has no sensibility ; and having his life only to lose, he looks upon his enemies as his murderers. If courage supported his vengeance, he would be the most terrible of brutes to the European, as he is to the tribes he is at war with ; but a like deficiency of courage on both sides, makes the wars eternal between them.

The Hurons and Iroquois were at war in 1523, and now continue it with the same implacable hatred and vengeance.

They show the most respect and authority to their old men ; but like the wild beasts
when

when their strength is exhausted they abandon them to perish with hunger. This ingratitude, which affrightens us, is nevertheless a law of animal nature; interested for it's young whilst growing, but indifferent when it can shift for itself.

Of the ANTHROPOPHAGI.

The Academicians at Paris insulted L'Abbe du Clos in 1746, when he charged the Gauls with having been men-eaters; as if the human race were incapable of any thing so atrocious: not observing that even in a philosophical age, there is nothing that men engage in with so much good will, as the being drawn up in lines and columns to destroy each other; for interests so mean and pitiful, that the object is forgotten before the war is half finished. This is so hateful a subject that we shall not dwell upon it: but the accounts we have had from the South-Seas, shew the author to have formed a right conjecture of the savage nature of man. These poor wretches are excusable when their actions are compared with Autos de Fes, the massacre of Paris, and such flagitious proceedings among people in a civilized state.

The Americans have been charged with destroying incredible numbers in their human sacrifices. The Scythians, Egyptians, Chinese, Indians, Phenicians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Gauls, Germans, Britons, Spaniards, Negroes, and Jews, have all sacrificed mankind at their altars, and if they are not convicted of having eaten of the sacrifice, it is probably intirely owing to the obscurity of such remote history.

OF SOME
EXTRAORDINARY CUSTOMS,

WHICH FORMERLY PREVAILED ON OUR

HEMISPHERE;

AND WHICH WERE FOUND AMONG THE

A M E R I C A N S.

THE examination of customs so alike in such different climates, and among nations which could have no knowledge of each other, proves that mankind is, as it were, predestinated to commit the same faults in whatever region of the globe it inhabits, and that there are some errors, however striking the likenesses, that cannot have been copied the one from the other; because superstition, prejudices, self-love, neglect

neglect of our fellow-creatures, ignorance of our duties, and all the passions, and all the vices, ought of necessity to produce the same effects, and by consequence the same disorders in societies, who have never had any communication together.

That bloody and insensible custom of interring living persons with the deceased, was hardly abolished amongst the Gauls in the time of Julius Cesar, which had been introduced by the Scythian colonies, wherever they fixed. We know it to have existed in several parts of southern Asia, and the coasts of some parts of Africa. It was again found among the people of America, as well in the north as in the southern parts.

Amongst people so distant from each other, and separated by such insurmountable barriers, we cannot reasonably suppose they could have had any correspondence, seeing they differ in so many other respects, and have almost no other resemblance but in this atrocity.

Although it be possible that the adoption of this cruel ceremony among several different

ent nations, may not have originated from one and the same cause, yet there is much reason to conclude that the dogma of the resurrection of the body in a life to come, has produced this singular misfortune, this deplorable error : that the idea of being served in the other world by those we have commanded in this, has been the motive for sacrificing slaves at the tombs of their masters, and wives upon the bodies of their husbands. So we may observe in the relation of these homicides, that they are ever most frequent at the funerals of kings and sovereigns.

On the coast of Guinea they inter only the wives of the grandees with their husbands bodies : those of a middle and very inferior station are denied this privilege. At the funeral of Tuinpong, king of Akin, as says Mr. Roemer in his Relation of 1764, they buried with him three hundred of his wives, and a much greater number of slaves. Some have conjectured that the Pyramids of Egypt were constructed for the purposes of shutting up the principal officers of the Pharaohs, that they might attend the dead bodies during the remainder of their lives.

For

For the simple individuals of Egypt, they were content to put a small piece of gold or silver under the tongue, or upon the breast, which is still found in the mummies.

The wife who has children amongst the East-Indians, is not suffered to burn herself with her husband; and, as they allow of polygamy, it is the most beloved wife that the law ordains to perish with her husband. From which, one may infer with certainty, that the ridiculous pretension of enjoying the same pleasure in her society in the other world, has been the cause of adopting this cruel folly.

It is here worth observing, two horrible contradictions in the system of the ancient Brachmans and modern Bramins. They are to a degree of furor attached to the doctrine of Metempsychosis, or a transmigration of the soul out of one body into another; from whence they conclude, that they ought not to deprive a fly, or any thing that breathes, of its life, and yet, with the greatest solemnity, order the burning of wives with their husbands. One cannot imagine an extravagance comparable with this; nor can one conceive how they pretend to rejoin their wives in a life

to

to come, whilst they maintain that souls are carried about without repose, from one body into that of another, at the instant of the destruction of the animated being: for according to them, the soul of the husband may enter into the embryo of a mouse, and the soul of the wife into that of a cat; so that the Indous, who ought not to burn their wives if they would be consequent with their principles, are the only southern Asiatics who have obstinately retained this abominable custom. It has been said, that they pay annually a tribute to the Great Mogul, and to the Nabobs and Mahometan Rajahs, for permission to commit these homicides, in which they transgress the positive precept of their Vedam.

In the academical memoirs of Mr. Freret it is maintained, that the Gauls never sacrificed human victims, because, says he, it is in contradiction to the dogmas handed down to us by Cesar, Strabo, and Diodorus; but this one example of the Indous show, that religious dogmas and theological systems may be in direct opposition to practice and custom: there is no reason therefore, why the Germans should not have been as absurd as the others.

In

In the travels of Tavernier, Thevenot de Bernier, and Chardin, we find, that they give to these miserable victims of superstition, a beverage of a strong infusion of saffron, nightshade, grian of green hemp, and other narcotics, by stupefaction, to destroy the horrid appearance of death. They seize the instant of the delirium, which these potions often excite, to precipitate the women into the flames; and to this trick of the Bramins and Faquirs, we must attribute the relations of joy and chearfulness which these unfortunate wretches are said to express at the time and place of execution. It is really astonishing that the North-Americans should observe the same custom towards the wives and slaves sacrificed at the death of their caciques or chieftains; they use tobacco leaves bruised and made into a paste, which they give to swallow to those intended for execution; they afterwards give them water to drink, which, in diluting the tobacco hurries them into a complete delirium; so ingenious are men in their wanderings from reason, where they have been unable to surmount nature by force, they have done it by artifice.

In the 16th century, there arose a dispute

pute between Gariclaſſo de Vega and ſome other Spaniſh authors of the hiſtory of Peru, whether the Incas cauſed theſe great numbers of ſlaves and concubines to be executed by force. The former inſiſts, it was the choice of the ſufferers, and even that many have been reſuſed this privilege by the etiquette of the court, which would admit only ſo many: and he ſeems to have reaſon on his ſide, if we conſider the extreme contempt of life amongſt the Peruvians. Beſides all depends upon the perſuaſion, more or leſs, of thoſe who devote themſelves. If they believe firmly and with enthuſiaſm, that they ſhall ariſe and accompany their maſter again, and their friends; why may they not be ſeen to go to death, with the ſame alacrity as thoſe obſcure men, pretended martyrs, did formerly, who ran to the ſcaffold with the opinion of ſalvation, for having had the good fortune to be able to inſult the ſtatues of Venus and Mercury?

It is certain that the Indians of North America uſe tobacco in theſe ſolemnities; having been aſcertained by ſome French among the Natches of Louiſiana in 1725. The French who occupied a great part of that

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country, could not prevail, either by entreaties or menaces, to prevent a massacre that attended the obsequies of a chieftain, who died that year. They destroyed no less than thirteen of both sexes, without counting an infant which they threw to be trod to death by those who carried the bier, on which reposed the body of the cacique. Two of his wives, though old and decrepid, and five of his domestics, were dispatched to keep him company in the grave. After many foolish and tiresome ceremonies, these poor wretches were made to sit down, and the tobacco balls abovementioned, were administered. During the time that the effect from them should be produced, the assembly betook themselves to dancing and shouting in the most outrageous manner. Each patient had his head enveloped in a deer's-skin; over his neck was passed a cord with a running knot; two were employed to hold it from slipping, and three others pulled the other end till they had strangled them; they then buried the bodies in a ditch with the cacique. Mr. le Page imagines, that if the French had not been there some days before this execution, that many more would have suffered; from which

which one may judge of the carnage made by the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians. If the chief of a small horde exacted thirteen or fourteen persons for pleasures and service in the other world, they ought to destroy thousands to form the suite of the Incas and predecessors of Montezuma, who commanded the people of such vast countries.

It may be well supposed that interest guides the Bramins in the encouragement given to burning the widows, as it is well known they procure the remainder of their ornaments, earrings, bracelets, &c. after the fire is extinguished.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, has been more generally spread in Europe, Asia, and Africa, than has been suspected by historians; seeing we do not know much of any ancient nation that has not put into the tombs, by the side of dead bodies, arms, kitchen utensils, something to drink or eat, pieces of money, lights, or, in short, something for the use of the manes; which proves incontestably that they believed in a future state. This may serve to resolve a question of little consequence indeed, but
which

which has however been much agitated, upon the sentiments of the ancient Jews, touching the resurrection; although one cannot conceive why an œconomical precept, so essential as that concerning interment, should be omitted in the books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, where the detail, in other respects, is so very distinct as to forbid the eating the thighs of a hare. The Hebrew writers say, in another place, that the bodies of Jacob and Joseph were embalmed, and that their bodies had lain forty days in the Natron or Nitre: from whence we may infer, that those who buried in this soil, adhered to the dogma of the resurrection, then believed by the Egyptians, from whom the Jews borrowed much of their religious system, without which they could never have had the custom in Palestine of embalming; though their poverty afterwards, says the Rabbin Jacob, obliged them to make some alterations. There is a great appearance of their having anciently put pieces of money into sepulchres; as Flavius Josephus says it was a received opinion, that when David was buried, considerable sums were interred with him. How should this custom obtain, this foresight respecting the deceased, if it did not arise from an idea of
of

of a life to come, purely material, and which the christians have manifestly drawn from the synagogue. The Sadduceens, who denied a resurrection, were a new sect, who were accused of attacking an old system, universally believed.

We ought not to count among the dangerous consequences that the dogma of the resurrection has carried with it, the custom of burying live infants with the dead body of the mother, as is practised among the Onontagos, in the Isthmus of Darien, and some other parts of America. This atrocity has its rise in the deplorable constitution of a savage life, where no one is willing or able to charge himself with the bringing up of orphans at the breast : they murder them, therefore, to prevent their death by starving. The charity of the savage extends no further. So much does mankind lose by the want of civilization.

After having considered the revolting and frightful ceremonials of funerals of so many nations of the two continents, we will examine a whimsical custom with respect to mourning, and of which it is impossible to find

find out the cause. It consists in cutting off the joint of a finger when one loses the husband, wife, or some other near relation. The Scharos of Paraquai, the Guaranos, and many other people of America, have made these amputations so frequently, that men and women have been met who had only five or six fingers intire on both hands; which gave rise to the first accounts of these people, that they had naturally but three fingers on each hand.

The missionaries who are interested in preserving their slaves from mutilation, have stopt this custom in the parts of South America where they have any direction: but in California, where there are great tribes in a savage state, they still adhere to it, and have a marvellous facility in curing these wounds, which in Europe would be looked upon as dangerous from the repetitions.

It remains now to indicate a nation on our continent, who have practised this impertinent custom; and if one should be discovered, it may be averred, that the inhabitants of the two hemispheres, however widely different in many respects, have met
in

in two of the greatest absurdities, that the human mind could conceive and execute.

Mr. de Loubere of the French academy, is the first that has observed this custom among the Caffres, during his stay at the Cape of Good-Hope, on his return from Siam. He says, that when the Hottentots lose their husbands or wives, they cut off the joint of a finger; so that by inspection of their hands, one may see whether they are widowers or widows, and how often. The Dutch have succeeded in persuading the Hottentots to desist from these cruel amputations, so hurtful to the living and useless to the dead; and also of the custom they had of depriving themselves of one of their testicles.

In the treatises upon the funerals of the ancients, we see, that the Romans cut off a finger of a dead body, that place and circumstance hindered them to inter with the usual ceremony, and with this detached member they practised many superstitious ceremonies; but this can never have given rise to the custom among the Hottentots, who so far
from

from having any notions of the religious rights of the Romans, know nothing of the Mahometan, although they have Mahometans on the east and west sides of their continent. Much less reason is there to suspect their having had any connection with the Californians; for no two people are better separated: placed on the north and south of the two extremities of the world, the whole globe is between them. If widows only used this mutilation, we might infer, that the savages inflicted this cruelty upon them, to prevent their putting themselves off for virgins in a second marriage, to a person ignorant of their first engagement.

A custom less bloody, but full as ridiculous is found among many nations in America: were the husband takes to his bed whilst his wife lies in. In this posture he feigns himself sick, groans, and takes great care of himself, receives the visits of his friends, who come rather to pity than compliment him. When this was first known in France, they said, according to custom, how could the people in America be so mad? without knowing that the same absurdity has been,

been, and is even now practised in the Canton of Bern, where it is called *faire convade*: it is more than probable they got the custom from Spain, where it obtained in the time of Strabo. The husband took the wife's place as soon as she was delivered, and the wife came and ministered to him as if in sickness; and this is observed among the Brafilians and many people in America, where the women think of nothing so much, after their labour, as tending upon the husband. Marc Paul assures us that he has seen the same practice among many tribes of independant Tartars. It was a custom in Corfica, and formerly in Spain. So that this custom has made the tour of the globe; since we can trace it from the river of Saint Laurence to the Pyrenean Mountains; and indeed it ought to have had a full success, being in it's nature too ridiculous to be displeasing to the human mind. When these barbarians have been questioned upon the motives of their conduct, they answer, that they do it to re-establish their strength, which suffers by their becoming a father.

We know that at all times the eclipse of
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the sun and moon have frightened the ignorant and superstitious, and we know that the Greeks and Romans, during the time of the obscurities, made all the noise they could invent, with pans, kettles, and every instrument capable of adding to the loud rough sounds. It is very extraordinary to find that all the authors of the history of Peru, agree in the Peruvians making the like disturbance, in a like circumstance; getting together all the instruments of noise they can collect, and even whip their dogs, that by their howlings they may add to the horrid din. The same is practised in India, among the followers of the Bramin doctrine, who not content with noise, go to the river Ganges, to bathe, break there earthen-ware, and practise so many contortions, that they appear quite mad.

It is not easy to know how so many nations, at so great distances from each other, should agree in a custom, which is far from a natural incitement; for the deprivation of light is trifling, and would rather produce stillness than noise, as we see in all the animals in the field, who retire to the trees and hedges during the obscurity. It must
be

be that the Romans, Indians and Peruvians, had some ideas conformable upon the nature of the sun and moon. They must have taken these globes for animated beings, which, during the eclipse, they considered in a state of sleeping, or stupefaction, which befell them in their course, and which they were desirous of relieving; since if they feared their falling, as some writers pretend, they could never conclude that making a noise should stop the fall of those vast bodies; nor does the notion that they might imagine the sun and moon to be engaged in combat, give any better solution of the matter. It is indeed more probable that they thought them to be animated beings rather than dead matter; an inert repose being more natural to mere matter, than motion. It is not surprising that in those times of blindness, they should be ignorant of the invisible power of the first mover of those enormous masses in the vast space of the firmament, since men have never been able, nor even can know why those globes have been created, and to what they serve.

The moral and physical evils, spread so plentifully over our planet, scarcely permit

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us to believe that the others surrounding us are exempt from them.

All that has been said of burying the living with the dead ; of the amputation of fingers ; of husbands bedrid on account of their wives being in labour ; and of the ceremonies during eclipses, prove that the errors in physical matters, have never carried with them very great abuses, whilst the errors in morality, after debasing reason, have frequently saturated the earth with blood,

OF THE

USE OF POISONED ARROWS,

BY THE

PEOPLE

OF

BOTH HEMISPHERES.

Ungere tela manu ferrumque armare veneno.

VIRG.

The flying arrow and the sword, would stop the breath,
But with malicious art, they hide a poisoned death.

THE use of envenomed arms is of the
highest antiquity: it was known in
Asia some years before Alexander; in Italy
before the foundation of Rome; and in Ame-
rica

rica we know not how long before the arrival of Columbus. The Count de Fogeda was the first European killed in America with a poisoned arrow, as he was picking gold-dust on the banks of a river.

This fatal secret has in all ages preceded the use of iron. When they found that darts, headed with stone, teeth, and horn, were weapons too weak to make head against the wild beasts, they had recourse to poison, which at first was used against them only, but in the course of time they employed those poisoned weapons in their national wars.

There have been nations who used these arms against wild beasts and not in battle; such were the Gauls in Cæsar's time. The Indians used them against Alexander, but without putting any stop to his career; neither does it appear that they have been of consequence enough to protect any nation from subjection, or to have subjected others. The Tapuias and Carribs of America used them much in their ancient wars, but without great effect; for the latter were obliged to leave the continent and take refuge in the islands.

The

The inhabitants of the Molucca isles, with their stilettos and poisoned darts, have never been able to shake off the dominion of the Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch. The Sardi and the Moors, so famous for their poisoned arms, became, one after the other, the slaves of the Roman Empire. It is probable, that the Romans had a specific against the bad effects of the arms of the barbarians; for although those counterpoisons mentioned by Pliny the Naturalist on that account, are certainly inefficacious, one may see, nevertheless by a passage in Celsus, that they knew at that time how to make a sensible diminution in the activity of the poison by sucking the wounds. This is conformable to the present practice, and requires nothing but courage to prove it.

The preparation to poison arrows is almost always drawn from vegetables, rarely from animals, and never from minerals; which proves that Dr. Mead was mistaken when he said, that poisons drawn from minerals surpassed all others in force and malignity. In America they make use of a shrub, and two different trees, the most dangerous is the Mancanillier, or vegetable Hippomanes
of

of Brown ; it is most common in the Antilles, Porto-Rico, and some of the coasts of America. The leaves contain a lacteous substance, which transpires in the heat of the day ; it is then dangerous to handle either its fruit or branches : when the sun is off, one may examine the tree and fruit ; it is however very unsafe to sleep under it, lest a dew should fall upon you, after having passed over the leaves, and particularly if in blossom.

The Savages cover their faces, when they make incisions in the tree to come at the juice, lest they should be blinded by any of it accidentally finding its way into their eyes. The Africans use the same caution in extracting the liquid gum from the Euphorbier. The Indians place shells at the foot of the Mancanilier to collect the dropping juice, in which they dip the points of their arrows, which have been found to suffer no decrease in the virulence of the poison after one hundred and fifty years, but gave the most sudden death to any animal upon the least wound or scratch. After failing in several attempts, the Europeans, at length, through the means of an Indian child about ten
years

years of age, found that a small quantity of salt swallowed, or two or three glasses of sea-water, is an infallible counterpoison; and since that, the salt of viper, and hartshorn, is still better.

The other tree is the Liane or Bejuque, in the province of Guiana, called *Curare*. They slice the roots in autumn, and boil them slowly in a kettle till they produce a strong syrup: as there is great danger from the effluvia entering the nose or mouth, which would often be mortal, the Indians always employ some decrepid old woman. They try the force of the poison by dipping the arrow which has been infected, into new drawn blood; if the coagulation is not immediate, they continue to boil the stuff till it is thicker. This poison will last about three years, and kill in three minutes. They use arrows which are discharged with a bow, and others that they blow through a tube. It is very remarkable, this custom of blowing envenomed darts through tubes, practised in South America, has been time immemorial in use in the southern parts of Asia; as well on the continent, as in the islands. The savage moistens the dart with

spittle before he puts it into his mouth ; but the poison has no effect when it mixes with the blood, which turns in the same manner as vinegar acts upon milk ; and this sudden coagulation is the cause of sudden death. Aqua-fortis squirted into the veins would have the same effect in about two minutes.

One may judge that game is not hurtful to eat that is killed by these weapons, since the action of the poison is only in fixing the blood. The symptoms on the human body are the same as those attending the bite of a viper, or other serpent ; a swelling, and livid marbled spots on the skin. The swelling is from the blood being stopt in the great vessels and the other circumstances, from the yellow lymph introducing itself into the capillary vessels. If a monkey on a tree is struck with a dart from one of these tubes, he will be dead before he comes to the ground ; and a tyger will only make two or three turns and die.

Sugar taken from the cane, has been found a remedy against a wound from an arrow poisoned with the Bejuque, at Cayenne ; but had not the same effect in Holland. It is
astonishing

astonishing that there is no lacteous vegetable in nature, that, in a certain dose, would not act as a poison on mankind, whilst there is no animal which gives milk, that would, in any quantity, be hurtful; even our fig-trees, that produce so sweet a fruit, contain a lacteous corrosive substance, two or three spoonfuls of which would infallibly kill a person.

Bontius describes the Lizard Geccho to furnish the people of the island of Java with poison for their darts; that they hang the animal up by the tail, whip, and irritate it till it vomits a yellow viscous matter, which they catch in pans, and being put in the sun, it ferments and coagulates. A brother of Tavernier relates, that, about the year 1660, Sumbaco, a king of Macassar, shewed him the effects of these darts upon an Englishman who had committed a murder there; he permitted him to do all in his power to save the man after receiving the wound; he accordingly provided two surgeons, an English and a Dutchman. The king asked where he should hit him; the great toe on the right foot was fixed upon, which he hit with a precision more becoming an executioner than

than a king. The surgeons immediately ran in, and cut off the toe in an instant; as soon as the amputation could be well compleated, the man died in convulsions. If the surgeons had burned the part after the amputation, it might possibly have saved the man's life. The king had a remedy for the infection from his poisonous darts and arrows; and it is an axiom, that all nations, whether polished or savage, have known the preservative against the poisoned weapons they use.

The ancient Barbarians of India collected a great quantity of venemous reptiles, which were pounded and exposed to the sun in pans; and from thence they extracted a virus to envenom the points of their arrows. The modern Indians use the *terre-mérite*, or long cucurma, against the bite of the Geccho: it is equally good against the viper, in the Brasils called *cobra de capello*; both of which, from their bite, produce a true jaundice, but of a very violent kind; it will also cure the common jaundice.

OF THE
E G Y P T I A N S
AND THE
C H I N E S E.

TRANSLATED FROM
LES
RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES
E G Y P T I E N S
ET LES

C H I N O I S.

By MONS. DE PAUW.

EGYPTIANS

AND THE

CHINESE

TRANSLATED FROM

RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

EGYPTIANS

CHINESE

BY MONSIEUR DE VILLIERS

THE Author, Mr. De Pauw, undertook this Work to show the little conformity there is between the people of China and those of Egypt, in opposition to some strange assertions, that they were of the same stock.

The Chinese are without doubt of Scythian origin; the Egyptians from Ethiopia. It is impossible for two Nations to resemble each other less, which the Author has proved in a vast variety of circumstances the most decisive. We have given his Preliminary Discourse, from which the reader will have a tolerable idea of the work.

OF THE

E G Y P T I A N S

AND THE

C H I N E S E.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

I shall consider in this work, in what the ancient Egyptians resembled the modern Chinese, and in what they have differed.

In order to understand things thoroughly,

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I shall

I shall go into great discussions ; for by paying too much respect to appearances, there is great risk of being deceived.

The conformity that some have thought they discovered between two people so distant, may be very deceitful to those, who, instead of making enquiries, make systems.

Many observations will be made that are proper to let us understand the manners, customs, and even the physical constitution, and the maladies of the two nations, which are in all respects so very peculiar, and which are much less understood in the eighteenth century than one could believe. Many difficulties arise in studying the monuments of Egypt, and the accounts of China, where nothing is more common than contradictions. It is lucky that travellers have contradicted each other, which makes the conviction of their impositions easier. These contradictions are above all to be imputed to their want of capacity to describe the arts, trades, their food, and all those objects which are essential to the philosopher, who seeks to know the two nations.

The

The system formed by the Egyptians, relative to their food, deserves particular attention. In laying this open, by the means of natural history, one sees, at first sight, that the whole was totally unknown to the Chinese; in such a manner, that if the Chinese do now make use of the artificial incubation of eggs, it is by mere chance that in this respect they resemble ancient Egypt, where it was, one may say, connected with the regimen of the Sacerdotal class. But what merits a yet greater attention, is, the chain of the physical and moral causes, which have kept the arts and sciences in an eternal infancy in China. When they speak of their antiquity, they say that they have known the art of cutting and polishing marble more than 4000 years; and, notwithstanding they have never made one handsome figure, there is no doubt that they have for a long time handled the painting brush in the same manner they do now, nevertheless, their painters do not seem to have equalled their sculptors. For the rest, the small progress they have made in the arts, does not bring them below the other people of Southern Asia, and Africa; but
what

what places them below all polished people, is their ignorance in astronomy.

The Japanese, the Indous and the Turks, make their almanacs without any foreign assistance; and the Chinese, who think they have observed the stars for so many ages, cannot make a good almanac. That which is disagreeable, is, what has often happened and probably may again; that they have, by a false intercalation, made the year to consist of thirteen months instead of twelve. There was a memorable instance of this in the year 1670, when no person, through the whole extent of the empire, found out the error, except some Europeans who were by chance at Peking, and by those means acquired the character of great philosophers, because they made it clear, that there was a supernumerary month slipped into the year, which they determined to retrench, and punish with death the unfortunate calculator, who had inserted this small fault in his Ephemeris. This was joining atrocious cruelty to gross ignorance; for after all, an astronomer who makes the year to consist of thirteen months, does not deserve to be beheaded. The
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new edition of 45,000 Tangsio, or correct calendars, three thousand of which they sent into each province, sufficiently repaired all the mischiefs.

At that time, and for more than two hundred years, some men whom they took for Arabs, but who were Mahometans born in China, filled the mathematical tribunal, if we may give such a name to a kind of academy composed of Mahometans. Nevertheless, the Chinese, in spite of their intolerable pride, addressed themselves to these pretended Arabs to get calendars from them; without which, they would not have known within twenty-nine or thirty days nearly, when they had the new year, or feast of the Lanterns; and they would not know it now, if they did not pay a German Jesuit, named Hallerstein, who calculates and predicts their eclipses, and who is at length the president of the tribunal of mathematics, where since the expulsion of the Mongul Tartars, there has never been one of the long robe, who had comprehension of any one problem of Euclid.

It may be said, that it is astonishing that
father

father Verbieß, who had for a long time that employ that father Hallerlein has now, has not been able to instruct some young Chinese in the first elements of astronomy, at least. But this is not so easy as one may imagine, nor perhaps possible. I know it has been suspected, that the Jesuits keep the Chinese in ignorance to preserve their credit in the court of Pekin; but the truth is, that Verbieß had not all the cleverness that some have imagined, seeing he made a mistake in taking the latitude of Pekin, which error was inserted in the Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, where it has been since corrected.

It must be here observed, that father Gaubil took great pains to convince the learned of Europe, that the ancient Chinese had been very enlightened, but their descendants, insensibly degraded, were fallen into the darkest ignorance,* which is not only false but impossible even. If the astronomers who lived under the Dynasty of Hans, had determined the true figure of the earth in their writings, we should not some years after see other

* Historie Abre. de l'Astron. Chin. Tome II.

other Chinese Astronomers, who ought to be acquainted with these writings, maintain that the earth is square. So, in the year 1505, they had no idea of the latitude or longitude of any of their cities: for when one makes the earth square, the absurdities which follow are not easily reckoned.

It is really laughing at the world, to say that such a people wrote their annals with the astrolabe in their hands, to verify, as the enthusiasts give out, the history of the earth by that of the heavens.

Under the Dynasty of the Moguls, there were some learned men of Balk, who were invited to make almanacs, as the Jesuits have been since for the same purpose; but it was these learned men who calculated, most probably, some observations and eclipses which the Chinese have inserted in the late editions of their books; for it is known that they are often obliged to renew the editions on account of the bad quality of their paper, which spoils there worse than in Europe, in spite of all the efforts they use with musk to drive away the moths and worms. But whether the Chinese have not been able to comprehend the tables made for them, or whether

ther they have been ill translated, it is certain that the eclipses have been found to be erroneous; and it is known that Mr. Cassini, in examining the observations of a winter solstice, very much celebrated in the Chinese tables, discovered an error of more than 497 years.*

It was these men of the Bactrian who made some instruments and globes for the Chinese, of which they have never been able to make any use, and far from being any instruction to them, they have precipitated them into an error so singular, that it has never been heard of before amongst any people in the world. I shall explain this fully when speaking of their architecture, and of their pretended observations at Peking and Nankin.

It is without doubt to be wished, that the common opinion entertained of the Chinese in Europe, had been well founded. One might believe that having been unsuccessful in the sciences, which depend immediately upon genius, they have directed all their efforts towards a science that depends entirely upon reason, namely morality. Some have da-
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* Mem. de l'Acad. de Sciences de Paris, Tome VIII.

red to assure us, that they have carried morals to a degree of perfection that it was impossible to reach in Europe: but I am sorry that after taking the utmost pains I have not been able to find the least vestige of this sublime philosophy, and I do not think that I could want penetration in so essential a point.

It is not in the murder of their infants, such as are daily committed in all the cities of China, from Canton to Pekin, that the progress of morals can consist; neither can it exist in the castration of thousands of boys in a year, that in the last conquest so terribly shocked the Manduis Tartars, whom we improperly call Manchoux. It is certain, without speaking here of Polygamy, that one cannot discover the true notions of natural right in the domestic slavery, as it is established in China, where they reduce so many men, born free, to the condition of beasts: for the Chinese like the Negroes can sell their children. Neither have their legislators ever had the least idea of the bounds of parental authority. It will be seen in the course of this work, that this has been a stumbling block that no legislature of antiquity has known how to avoid: but an error of the an-

cient legislators, however general, can in no wise justify the Chinese, who we cannot consequently compare with the Europeans who have destroyed slavery amongst them, and discovered the true limits of parental authority, which is the master-piece of legislation.

There remains, after this, the extreme honesty of the Chinese merchants, who assuredly are great moralists, for at the entrance of their shops is *Pou-Hou*: as much as to say, we cheat nobody here. They would never have thought of writing this, if they had not determined before hand to cheat all the world; and their very children know that they have false measures and false scales, and if they are taken away to day they have new ones to morrow. They have never conceived till lately, in Europe, why the Chinese merchants should be such cheats, nor why there should be such swarms of robbers who lay waste the provinces: nevertheless, these things, which seem to have an intimate connection, proceed from different causes.

As to the learned men of this country, it appears strange enough that they should let their finger nails grow, lest they should be mistaken for men who work; nevertheless they

they are far enough from being so learned as to derive any nobility from thence. Can it be, that in the true principles of morality that they discovered that the earth dishonours those who cultivate it? this is doubtless a great contrast with that ceremony of the emperor's ploughing a field in the eyes of the Europeans, who have a false idea of that ceremony. Wherever the emperor of China passes, every person is obliged to shut himself up in his house, on pain of death, lest he should see him; and this prohibition is not taken off, as has been thought on the day of ploughing, where it is transacted before some of the courtiers with great pomp. They gild the horns of the cattle and the plough share; so that this pomp is reckoned amongst the causes, which have determined those they call the learned, not to cut their nails. When afterwards such men talk of breaking up grounds we can have no confidence in their maxims; and there are many uncultivated lands in China, which have not been cultivated of long standing. It is a madness in these history makers to pretend that there is not an inch of ground in the whole extent of the empire that is not improved, whilst in the interior provinces there

there is scarcely a shadow of culture, which is the cause of those frequent famines and misfortunes of which I shall speak : for my business is not with the European opinions of China, but to cite facts.

On the other hand, these learned men are generally enough suspected of having imposed histories and books upon the world, as the works of Confucius, which he could not have read ; and it may be credited, for his honour's sake, that the book attributed to him, the *Tchun-Sieou*, or Spring and Autumn, is none of his. It is a little miserable chronicle of the kings of Lou, where one must not look for the philosophical understanding, the style, or manner of the great Greek and Latin historians, nor even of our modern : there is nothing of that kind. I do not say that it would be a crime to counterfeit a moral treatise under the name of Socrates or Theophrastus, for if the maxims are good, it is of little consequence who was the author. But it is not so of historical monuments ; those who change them are as culpable as if they altered a title-deed.

For

For the rest, I have no desire to insinuate with some learned men, that all the annals of China, antierour to our era, are fictitious. I insist, that they reason badly who say, that all the Chinese historians are liars because the astronomers have been ignorant and failed in their proofs; since a history, whatever it may be, has no need to be verified by astronomical observations. I venture to assert, that the observations may be false, and that the history in which they are inserted may be true. Mezerai, who knew about as much of the matter as the Chinese, has described an eclipse, which has been examined in our days, and found to be impossible to have happened as he has described it; from it results, that Mezerai was deceived as to the eclipse only, the other facts being nearly true. So this method which they have thought so proper to conduct us to evidence, is only proper to lead us into uncertainty; for what might we expect of certainty if we depended on the correctness of an historical fact, to be decided by the capacity of an astronomer, and above all a Chinese astronomer!

But

But there is a more essential point, on which it is not so easy to excuse them : all they say of the rise of the arts and trades are doubtless very gross fictions. In these historians all the discoveries are made, as by enchantment, and follow with an inconceivable rapidity ; but the worst is, that all these discoveries are moreover attributed to princes, whilst it is well known that princes but rarely make discoveries. It is the emperor Fo-hi who invents the almanac and fishing nets : it would have been more reasonable to have assigned them to an astronomer and a fisherman. It is the emperor Chung-nung who invents the whole of medicine : in one day he learned the characters of sixty venemous plants, and in a nother all the virtues of sixty medicinal plants, whilst the Chinese have not, at this time, the least idea of a botanical system. Further, it is the emperor Ho-angti who invents the art of spinning wool, and the empress his wife who invents the art of spinning silk. Afterwards, this man discovers, in less than an instant, all the proceedings in Metallurgy, which has furnished the exaggerator Martini with an opportunity of making him an alchymist : but this is a peculiarity that

that I shall examine in a seperate article, to find out how the Chinese and Egyptians have equally been accused of having given into alchymy, however little likely it is. For the rest, we see by all this, that the Chinese have made more discoveries in three or four centuries, than could naturally have been effected in three or four thousand years; which is both false and absurd.

It is well known that in China there are sectaries of Laokium, that the Jesuits have been wrongfully accused of being at the same time atheists, forcerers and idolaters. But these sectaries of Laokium are very ready to admit a long series of ages antierior to Fo-hi, whether they thought the inventions relative to the arts and trades brought into too narrow a circle, or whether they have an inclination for the system of transmigration of souls; for I find that all the nations of that persuasion, make the world more ancient than those who believe otherwise; as may be seen by the prodigious period of the Thibetans and the Indous, of whom it is suspected that they carried it to China, where there is reason to think that the prince Ulug Beig, nephew of the emperor Tamerlane, calls it the epoch of
Chatai;

Chatai; and we know that this epoch, followed at this day, goes higher than eighty-eight millions of years than our era. In Europe they say, a man must be mad to adopt such a period; and the Fo-schang say, in their turn, that one must be mad to reject it.

It appears to me more than probable, that the Chinese have been united in a body, as a nation, during many ages, without the knowledge of writing; so that when they arrived at that point, they had entirely forgotten the names of those who made the first discoveries in the arts. But in order to leave no chasm in the annals, they have filled them up with those childish fables we have mentioned; and if they made choice of emperors to whom they attributed all these inventions, that happened from the servile ideas that men extract from slavery; for it is common amongst slaves to lend their masters a thousand times more understanding than they have.

All that one can say positively, is, that the Chinese are an extremely ancient people; their tongue and mode of writing show it much better than the annals of Semat-tieu, who

who is the Herodotus of China, and the first, as they say, who stirred the ashes of that burning of books, excited, as is believed, by the emperor Dzin-schi-chuan-di. Mr. Fourmont pretends that this prince was unable to destroy all the copies of a work ; and, by way of proof, he cites the Thalmud, which, according to him, it was not possible to annihilate at the time of that odious persecution, which has fixed the Jews firmer in their belief, as was very natural. But Mr. Fourmont ought not to have cited such an example, nor compare such things with those no way connected with it. The folly is, to be desirous of annihilating books spread amongst men, who, in their turn, are carried all over the world. When the Jews were persecuted in Europe, on account of their Thalmud, they were not persecuted in Asia and Africa on account of their Thalmud, or that mass of monstrous absurdities so called. But it was not so with the Chinese, who were fallen under the yoke of a prince much more despotic than ever was Tiberius ; who, nevertheless, succeeded in destroying, throughout the extent of the Roman empire, the annals of Cremutius Cordus :

dus : and whatever Tacitus and Dion may say, there has never been a copy reached our days.

As to those who doubting of the burning these books, or deny it openly, they found it upon this ; this pretended misfortune is, according to them, a fable invented by the learned, who have endeavored to excuse the disorder which reigned in the history of their first Dynasties, which are more obscure than darkness itself. Nevertheless we may defy these learned to produce one work only which treats of architecture, medicine, astronomy, or agriculture, which is undoubtedly antierior to our era, while they allow that the emperor Schi-chuan-di did not burn any book written on those matters. It must be owned that this is a difficulty there is no getting the better of, if they make no searches in China with views very different than what the missionaries have had, who have said many things that have been too lightly credited.

I have spoken vaguely of the origin of the Chinese, at a time when it was not possible for me to have the least knowledge of some experiments made with the Barometer

ter upon the height of the habitable land of Oriental Tartary; I shall now speak from experience. The Barometer has been carried into some cantons inhabited by the Monguls, and they were much surprized to see the mercury descend as low as upon the high points of the Alps; nevertheless they have not measured towards the sources of the Orca and the Selinga, where there is infinitely more convexity, and there is no reason to doubt of their being human habitations there. That the Chinese have come from these heights is, in my opinion, incontestible; and as they have penetrated into China by the middle of the line, which the great wall, or the *Van-ly-crin*, at this day describes, it ought necessarily to happen, that the northern provinces of their empire were polished before those of the southern; and this is what all their monuments bear witness to, and even by the name they now bestow on the inhabitants of the southern provinces, whom when they wish to abuse, they call *Man-dzy*, which signifies barbarians of the south,* because that social life began towards the north,

* *Questiones petropolitanae de nomin: imperii Chinarum, 1776.*

and

and that some of their hordes, who first went beyond the Choan-cho or Yellow River, preserved the ferocious manners of the pastoral life for a long time, which they had brought from Tartary, the true country of shepherd-people. They are now of that sort there, and probably will always be.

We see then that the things are here in their natural order, which has not been interrupted or deranged by the arrival of any strangers, who have not followed, in their transmutations and establishments, the sloping inclination of the ground.

As to the history of Egypt, it would neither be so obscure nor so confused, if it had not been prodigiously jumbled by modern chronologists, who have the prejudice, almost inconceivable, to desire to adjust the Egyptian annals by the Jewish history; and when they could not succeed by one set form of calculations, they thought upon another. So that at this day they reckon a hundred and seventeen different systems of chronology. From whence it exactly happens that we have no chronology; and it may be that some time or other, some philosophical writers may take

take place of these vain calculators, who being never in agreement amongst themselves, nor each with himself, have spread darkness every where, and made truth look like a lie.

Father Petau dared to maintain, that all the Dynasties of Egypt are fabulous;* whilst, on the other hand he devoured the most monstrous absurdities, set on foot by Ctesias, as Saturn devoured the stones.

If you inquire of Marsham, Pezrou, Fourmont, and Jackson, they will tell you that the Dynasties are nothing like fabulous, and that the Jesuit Petau knew nothing about it; but you must agree with them that there were four or five kings at a time in Egypt; and this arrangement, unknown to all antiquity, appears to them so true and reasonable, that they do not even suspect that any difficulties can be proposed thereupon; but unluckily it has been discovered in our days, that Egypt is much smaller than was ever believed, and nearly but half what Count Caylus himself imagined; so that four or five kings at once would have been but lit-

* *Dynastias istas confictas et ridiculas esse, &c. De Doct. temp. l. 9.*

tle at their ease. They have put one of these pretended kingdoms in the isle of Elephants, because they were so ignorant of geography as to persuade themselves it was of prodigious extent. This is what a Frenchman says of it, of the name of Origny, who has published so many fables concerning ancient history: "The Elephantine city, says he, was built in a very large island, that the Nile formed a little below the cataracts."§ But this island may be about 400 Toises in breadth, and 800 in length. Thus the kingdom placed there very much resembles that of Yvetot.†

I beseech the reader to examine the map of ancient Egypt by Mr. D'Anville, which gives this isle less extent even than I have here allowed it.‡ There is then but little attention to be paid to the chimeras so contrary to reason; especially as I shall hereafter endeavour to explain what this Dynasty of Elephantine kings probably was.

§ Chron. du grand Empire des Egyptiens. Tom. 1.
p. 173. 1765.

† Yvetot is in Normandy. Pays de Caux.

‡ This map is in the front of his *Memoires sur l'Egypte ancienne et moderne*, Printed at the Louvre 1766.

Of

Of all the chronologers I have mentioned, Jackson, the Englishman, alone perceived that the Pharoahs resided only at Thebes or Memphis, and not in small towns or villages.

This is certain enough, that near two thousand years before our era, the Egyptians engraved on all kinds of fine stones. But the time necessary for men to attain to such a degree of perfection in an art which has no connection with the necessities of life, but merely appertains to luxury, does not seem to have ever been properly considered. After many researches, Bochart imagined that he had discovered schamir to have been first used about that time, which he supposed to be emery: but it seems very probable that schamir is pumice-stone, which is employed to polish marble and other minerals of that sort, but is not used in graving. Many trials of course, some unfortunate, and others useless, must have been made before the properties of Emery, the Naxian stone, and the diamond powder were discovered: for it is a mistake to affirm that the ancients did not use diamond powder, since Pliny speaks of it in an unequivocal

equivocal manner. Frequent essays must also have preceded the invention of the machine called the drill; without the assistance of which, it is impossible to trace figures and characters on such hard bodies. One may, indeed, without the drill, hollow them, as the Peruvians did emeralds; but this practice has no relation to graving, properly so called, in which saws and other instruments, of which the marks, as Natter himself acknowledges, are to be found on the Egyptian antiquities.* The traces of that instrument named Teretron by the Greek sculptors, and by us Trepan, are evident on the obelisk of Matarie: it is a kind of piercer, with a point of steel extremely fine, otherwise it would be blunted with the first attempt on granite. Thus all the most difficult arts of Metallurgy, must, in order of time, have preceded the erection of obelisks. I confess that the Egyptians raised those monuments with much fewer difficulties, than were encountered at Rome, where pope Sixtus V. had the weakness to make a bishop openly exorcize those large stones. But in return, the Egyptians had

* See his *Traite de la Maniere de Graver en pierres fines*. The Fol. edition.

far other obstacles to surmount, in the cutting, and in the descent from the quarry, than Fontana had in the erection.

Children only can believe that these were the works of a people just emerged from barbarism ; but reasonable men would conceive that century on century must have rolled away, before the Egyptians could have had confidence enough in their instruments and machines, even to think of cutting out such spires ; which did not serve them as gnomons, as some modern writers have ridiculously imagined.

It appears that the mistakes which they have fallen into, concerning the explanation of the origin of the arts, have arisen from a passage in Varro, which affirms, in the most positive manner, that all the arts were invented in Greece in the space of a thousand years. But instead of copying Varro in this, we should correct him ; for this man never said a more manifest falsehood : since the Greeks did not invent the arts, they went in search of them, or they were conveyed to them by others. For notwithstanding the fertility of their geni-

* De Re Rustica. Lib. 3. Pa. 54.

us and the excellence of their organs, if they had remained confined to their own country, and without communication with Egypt or Phœnicia, a thousand years would not have sufficed for them to have invented the alphabet, which they acquired in a day ; and that by a great accident, of which one cannot make a rule.

Besides, let us not ascribe to Varro, as to Mr. Gouget, the absurd idea of abridging the time ; since he himself agrees, in another place, that mankind must have continued, during a frightful number of years, in a savage state ; *immani annorum numero*. Thus he was deceived only with respect to the progress of the sciences, which he thought very rapid, though in truth very slow. If we wish for an example, the duration of the tropical year might be cited, which must have interested all the polished nations of the world. It seems at first sight, that such a discovery might have been made in three or four years ; nevertheless it was not till our days. The priests of Thebes and Heliopolis, who thought they had found it, deceived themselves by several minutes, as is visible by the defect of the Julian Year. But, say they, the Egyptians could

could not have early formed a national body, on account of the regular overflowings of the Nile. To this it may be answered; that those who make such objections, never possessed the least local or typographical knowledge: for it is certain, that a thousand times greater, and more painful works must have been undertaken to protect Babylon from inundations, than Thebes; nevertheless, the learned, who interests themselves much in favour of the Chaldeans, of whom they know not one single monument, are desirous of placing the origin of Babylon, in the most remote ages.

All the vain reasonings which have been broached on this subject, arise from the general belief that lower Egypt was peopled and polished before the Thebaid; but it is quite the contrary. The Egyptians descended from the heights of Ethiopia, so that they began to settle below the cataracts. Thus their first kings resided at Thebes, and not at Memphis, as is demonstrated by the canon of Eratosthenes, and by all the catalogues of the Dynasties. But to make great canals to fertilize the upper Thebais, was never thought of. There is but one cut
from

from the Nile to be found, which goes as far as Hieracon-polis, or the city of Hawks. It is below Thebes that all the great canals commence. Those who have not particularly studied geography, cannot clearly understand ancient history.

I confess, I cannot conceive how it entered the heads of father Kircher and Mr. Huet to send an Egyptian colony to China, in spite of the silence of all the historians and of all monuments of antiquity. These visions, which ought never to have been revived, have found defenders even in our days, who have thereupon proposed conjectures and systems, singular for their ridiculousness. They have gone so far even, as to pretend that the Phœnician letters and the radical characters of China, have a marked affinity : though it is a thing so vain, that no person of learning thinks about it, especially since the singular adventure of Needham, an Englishman, and a professor of the Chinese language.

Some years ago the design of a bust of Isis was sent from Turin to Rome. It was in height about two feet, having two-and-thirty very whimsical characters on the forehead, checks,

cheeks, and breast, and was said to be very ancient. Upon which, the professor, of whom I am speaking, boldly decided that these characters, graved on an Egyptian antique, were, nevertheless, Chinese; which he endeavoured to prove by extracts from a vocabulary, brought from Canton to the Vatican library. Mr. Needham, who was then travelling in Italy, was there informed of this pretended discovery, and was so inconsiderate as to publish it to all Europe. It is now known, that this bust of Isis, supposed to be so ancient, was not long since made in Piedmont, of a blackish stone very common in that country.* The sculptor had cut these thirty-two characters from fancy, which have no signification whatever. Altho' I cannot approve such frauds, too common among the Italian artists, which, in time, will render the most authentic antiquities suspected, I must nevertheless acknowledge, it would be difficult more to mortify the pride of a professor of the Chinese language at Romé, who ought to have known, that the Chinese, to whom hieroglyphic inscrip-

* De l'usage des statues chez les anciens de Mr. L'Abbe de Guaico. Pa. 296, 8vo.—Brussels, 1768.

tions have been shown, could not decypher a single word. They were far from understanding the winged circle, the sign agathomedon, and especially the cross with a handle, which is repeated a thousand and a thousand times on the obelisks, canopas, furniture of the mummies, and in fine on all the Egyptian monuments.

Our European antiquaries have been extremely perplexed with the cross with a handle.

It is not long since, that Mr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher, maintained that it means an instrument to plant lettuces; the father Kircher makes it the Creator: Doni Martin, a van; and the famous Herwart, the sea-compass.* It is true he cites other proofs; for he fancied he had discovered in Plutarch, that the Egyptians had small statues of iron and loadstone, which represented the bones of Typhon and Orus; to which they added a supposition that the priests worshipped it, with-

* Theologie Payenne. Part 1. Pa. 11.

out the shadow of proof.* Just as the Chinese navigators have been seen to offer sacrifice to the compass in the height of a storm; because they are infinitely better versed in the habits of superstition than in the elements of pilotage.

At present there is no learned person who does not know that the cross with a handle, which appears so often in the hieroglyphics, is a very remote representation of a man's genital parts; in fine, it is the phallus: so that it is difficult to reflect seriously on the amazing oversight of Herwart: for it is plain there is a wide difference between the phallus and the compass. I am astonished that it has not been perceived that this sign, simple or compound, is, on all the obelisks, turned, in every sense, and towards all the cardinal points of the world. When it is seen suspen-

* To prove that they worshipped these figures, Claudian is quoted.

Ferrea martis

Forma nitet, venerem magnetica gemma figurat,
illis connubium celebrat de more sacerdos,

But Claudian does not say that this was practised by the Egyptians; and probably it is a poetic fiction of his own.

ded

ded to the necks of figures, then its extremity is towards the earth, exactly as at this day the Hindoos carry the Lingam on the breast, which is known to be a representation of the same object, but far less concealed. Not as some travellers have absurdly declared as the sign of their reprobation ; for there is no Hindoo who looks upon himself as lost to Virtue.

It has been maintained, that there never was a more favourable epoch in the history of Egypt, for sending a colony to China, than in the expedition of Sesostris, which I have examined with great attention, and can assert it to be a priestly fable, intirely devoid of truth. This pretended expedition undoubtedly relates to the course of the sun entirely, as that of Osiris does. Thus Sesostris is seen continually marching from the East to the West.

*Venit ad occasum, mundique extrema Sesostris.**

Thus he made the tour of the globe, and conquered the habitable earth ; which is but a trifle.

We must not say that all this is written on

* Lucan, Pharsal, Lib. 10, v. 276.

one of the obelisks at Rome, for the translation of Hermapion, such as we have it in Ammianus Marcellinus, is evidently contradicted by a passage in Pliny, which affirms, that the obelisk mentioned, contains philosophical observations, and not fairy tales.

Megasthenes, cited by Strabo, had certainly great reason to maintain that Sesostris never set a foot in India; for it could not have happened but at a time when the celebrated family of Succandir reigned over all Indostan. For the annals of Indostan make no mention of Sesostris, although the Bramins have preserved the memory of the visit paid them by Pythagoras: and yet Pythagoras was not, like the Pharoah of Egypt, escorted by a multitude of robbers; nor especially by twenty-eight thousand chariots, as asserted by exaggerators who were unacquainted with what twenty-eight thousand chariots are.

When I reflect on the conquests of the Carthaginians, Arabs, and Moors, I do not deny, but that warlike and conquering nations may have gone out from warm
VOL. II. A a countries,

countries, but it is true also that the expeditions of these people are terminated under temperate climates, and that when they undertook them, they either had not, or believed they had not, any thing to fear at home. But this was not the case with Sesostris, who does not appear to have been very secure in his own country; since to restrain some troops of Scenites or Arabian shepherds who ravaged the Delta by their incursions, he inclosed all Lower Egypt with a great wall; as the Chinese have done to check the Tartars, who are not to be stopped in this manner. In the course of my researches I shall speak very largely of all those frightful ramparts which so many nations have had the folly to construct in so many parts of the old continent, because they fancied that a country might be fortified like a city; and this mistake has raised the greatest works that are to be seen upon earth.

The Phœnicians, or rather the merchants of Tyre and Sidon, having perceived of what importance it was for them to possess staples of commerce in the Colchide, into which there was a great influx of the wares of

of India, formed establishments on the banks of the Phasis; * to which they easily passed by the Mediterranean, whilst it was nearly impossible for a people from Africa to enter it by the way of the continent.

These settlements of the Phœnicians are what Herodotus has taken for an Egyptian colony, founded by Sesostris in the country of Colchis: and this mistake is so much the more gross, since he himself confesses, that in Egypt they had not the least knowledge of this colony; as if it should be said, that the Spanish establishments in Peru, are unknown in Spain.

It is so certain that Herodotus first conceived all these fables, that Onomacritus, who lived long before Herodotus, and enters into great details concerning the country of Colchis, says not a word of an Egyptian colony settled there, though he men-

* These commercial staples of the Phœnicians on the Phasis, gave rise to the traditions of the Hebrew and Philistine colonies in the country of Colchis; for all these neighbouring nations resembled each other in some customs. Vide les observations critiques sur les anciens Parples, de Fourmont, Tom. 1. p. 255.

tions the Phœnicians under the appellation of Solymi and of Assyrians, in his *Argonautics*, usually attributed to Orpheus.* The poets, as Appolonius of Rhodes and Valerius Flaccus, who have written on the expedition of the Argonauts, chose to follow the opinion of Herodotus, because the marvellous there contained, is congenial with the rules of an epic poem.

It has obstinately been maintained, which it ought not to be, that the name of Sefotris is to be found in the canon of the kings of Assyria; nor especially to conclude that Assyria was in the number of the countries conquered by him: for it is certain, that in this, Castor has copied Ctesias, who of all the Greeks has lied the most impudently in history. Thus Eusebius, Moses of Chorena, and Cassiodorus, have rejected the Sethos of Ctesias from the canon of the Assyrian kings, to insert a prince, name Atadas or Azatag, which is incomparably more reasonable.

It is still more strange that a fleet of six

* Mr Gefner has justly observed in his learned notes on the Orphicks, that the Solymi and Assyrians of the country of Colchis, are Phœnicians,

hundred long ships should be built by Sefotris on the Red Sea. Such prodigies are ascribed to a time, when the ignorance of the Egyptians in naval affairs, was extreme; because even then, their abhorrence to the sea was invincible: and it will be shown presently, that this aversion was very agreeable to their religious and political principles. The priests could not approve of foreign trade; and what is extraordinary, there was a reasonable consistency in their proceeding: for when the institutions of a people are relative to their climate, as those of the Egyptians were, it is proper to restrain foreign commerce, and to encourage agriculture; a maxim from which the priests never departed, but when forced by princes who shook the state.

On the other hand, wood for building was so scarce that they were at first extremely embarrassed to complete the number of barks employed on the Nile and the canals: and undoubtedly many experiments were made, before they could construct them of baked earth, which no other people of the earth, that I know of, have dared to attempt. The manner even of
baking

baking these vessels by fire, of giving them solidity by exact proportions, of varnishing them well, and covering them with rushes, are now among the number of things unknown, and perhaps, with respect to us, are useless things. When the Ptolemies were desirous to carry on the Indian trade by the Red-Sea, the want of wood obliged them to use weak barks, formed of rushes and the papyrus sewed together, which carried but small sails, small crews, sailed ill, and were but ill defended against pirates. It also appears that they were always conducted by Greek pilots; for the Egyptians did not understand the working of a vessel, whatever Mr. Amailhon has said, who imagines them to have been very skilful in maritime affairs; because, says he, they descended the cataract of the Nile in a canoe.* But the descent of the strongest cataract is never more than seven or eight feet, as Mr. Pocock saw, which has not the least relation to the knowledge necessary for navigating the sea.

Thus far is certain, that Sesostris did much

* *Histoire de la Navigation et du commerce des Egyptiens sous les Ptolemes*, Pa, 129.

good

good to his people, to whom he restored the property of those lands, of which they had been deprived during the usurpation of the Pastor kings; the most unmerciful tyrants mentioned in history. Thus the Egyptians had reason to testify their gratitude in a splendid manner to Sesostris, that they might maintain the reputation they had in antiquity, "of being the most grateful of men:" they had reason, I say, continually to celebrate this prince's memory, to stile him the second Osiris, and to compare his benefits with those of the sun; but, nevertheless, it is not necessary that he should have been made the conqueror of the whole habitable earth.

CONCERNING THE POPULATION

OF THE

CHINESE.

BEFORE the conquest of China by the Tartars, that is to say before that of the year 1644, they carried castration to an incredible excess, which of itself is enough to give the lie to the praises which writers, little instructed, have been prodigal of, touching the form of their government, in which all the magistrates were of that cast, and all the provinces pillaged by those magistrates.

I am

I am far from thinking that the great credit allowed to eunuchs by the Chinese, from the beginning of the empire, was occasioned by a superstitious prejudice, which, from the most remote antiquity, had place among the Scythians or Tartars, who had a peculiar reverence for all those men who were impuissant in the flower of their age, because they looked upon them as rendered such by divine power. Hippocrates, the only author who has spoken of the eunuchs of Scythia, who, he pretends, were dressed as women, and that the origin of this disorder was from their constantly being on horseback, without using stirrups. In this we may credit Hippocrates. But when he adds that the Scythians, to cure themselves of this indisposition, opened the veins on each side of their heads, from whence the weakness ensued, he is no longer to be credited: because we know at this time, that the spermatic vessels, which he supposed to be in the organs of hearing, are not placed there. The history of China began in the year 2037 before our era, to speak of the credit of the eunuchs. At that time they governed the emperor, and soon after the empire, if we may give the name of government to an association of robbers, who, under the reign

of Te-tsung, invaded not only, as I said, the magistracy, but who appropriated the tribute of the provinces, as if they were spoils. It was impossible at that time to obtain the lowest offices without this mutilation, because the great eunuchs of the palace would not confer any office, but on men as despicable as themselves. It would be tiresome to enumerate all the conspiracies and murders that they committed; it is sufficient to say, that from the death of Hien-Tsung, whom they poisoned, to the year 904 of our era, that they played with the lives of the emperors, and successively crowned four, each more weak and stupid than the other, whom they kept in leading strings, like infants. Nevertheless, in the course of the tenth century, the eunuchs were driven from the tribunals, but they again got possession of them. In the twelfth century, they were again driven out, and again returned. Their force appeared then insurmountable, because their numbers increased from year to year, and from day to day. The rich and poor equally emasculated their children, in the hope, that by these means they might arrive at power, better than by studying the pretended

pretended morality of Confufius and Mentfe.

Things were in this state when the Mand-huis or Mantchoux Tartars conquered China in an instant; and nothing surprized them more, than to see men governed by those who were not so. They began by reducing the number one half of the eunuchs attached to the court, which were above 12,000 under the reign of Tien-ki, a man without honour or talents, whom the ruin of the empire could scarcely draw from his lethargy. Father Schal, who by his knowledge in the business of artillery had acquired great access to the conqueror Chung-Tchi, founder of the present reigning dynasty, says, that this prince entertained then 6000 eunuchs, which appears excessive, since in the seraglio at Constantinople, they reckon ordinarily but five or six hundred, as we learn from Mr. Galland, French interpreter in Turkey. The Tartar tutors of Can-hi drove out almost all the eunuchs during his minority, except such as were kept for the care of the women; since which they have made constant efforts to get again into power.

As

As in China, the custom of infanticide was not obnoxious to the laws, they were far from thinking castration to be a crime ; but it was not this cause which produced so many eunuchs, which arose from the severity which they observed towards the women, and from the low price of slaves, which is incomparably less than in Persia and Turkey ; where, according to the precepts of the Alcoran, it is not permitted to castrate man nor beast : and, independently of that, there is a civil law in Persia, so that the eunuchs they want, come at a great expence from Africa, India, and above all from Golconda, where, in the 17th century, they mutilated almost all the children, which have always been, and ever will be, the principal cause of the weakness of the Asiatic courts. Father Parrenin, who was long in China, assures us, that the fury of castration is yet incredible ; that there are more females born than boys, and more girls destroyed than boys castrated ; and that there are many of these eunuchs who marry.

It is singular that the Chinese, who allow polygamy, have more women than they want ;

want; and that the Turks, who are in the same predicament, buy, and continually procure women, by all means, from other countries. This is so well known at Vienna, that the Turkish ambassadors covered boats are always searched before they are suffered to descend the Danube.

All this would be inexplicable, if we did not know, that in China there are many men who live single: that there are a million of monks, the greater part of which are beggars; the robbers in the provinces who have no families, and a great number of slaves who are not permitted to marry: so that the population of this country, which has been much exaggerated, is produced from causes, independent of the nature of the laws and form of government.

In the temperate climates of Asia, the men are naturally sober, their food is simple, and they are not in the habit of using strong liquors; which may perhaps corrupt or change the prolific substance. They have no need to shut up their children, nor cloath them as in northern climates, where the rigour of the season keeps them so long in repose, which
hurts

hurts their health, and is opposite to their favorite passion, which is the love of motion.

In these temperate regions they have always ripe fruits of a good sort, and the second passion of children is a violent appetite for fruits of all kinds, occasioned by the heat of their stomachs, which diminishes as they grow up.

In China the women are very fruitful; and the loss of their children from disease, is infinitely less than in Europe, where one half die before they are twenty years of age. It is probable that there is not any species of animal, whether in the domestic or savage state, the half of whose little ones perish before they arrive at their full growth.

It is unnecessary to go into the controversies concerning the population of China, since the historians vary among themselves to the number of one hundred millions, as may be seen in the calculations of Martini and Bartole. The extracts which are pretended to have been taken from Chinese registers, appears to have been fabricated by Europeans, and those ill instructed even: for in some they are laid at ten in a family

family throughout a province, and in others but five, which is an impossible disproportion.

I dare say that there is not a single city in China, concerning which, we have procured exact notions, and that all is related at hazard. Du Halde gives three millions of inhabitants to Peking; Le Comte but two millions; and Gaubil expresses himself in so vague a manner, that one can conclude nothing. But those who differ a million with respect to the inhabitants of one city, can never hope to make us believe that they are instructed in the population of a whole country, which is more irregularly inhabited than any other on the surface of the globe.

Kircher and Couplet have copied the atlas of Martini. Mendoza makes the number of walled cities amount to 1674, the Jesuits to 1453 only, which is very surprizing; for in an empire so extensive, there ought to be at least fifteen thousand, and even more, if we compared them with Holland and Brabant.

The people are crammed together along the sea coast and great rivers, for fishing and traffick;

traffic; and to those who judge from the capital and commercial cities the best situated, the country may appear many times more populous than it is. But from the people thus crowded together, we may account for the infanticide, and the frequent famines which make such horrible ravage amongst them.

Mr. Osbeck, who was in China in 1751, says, that, at that time, the province of Canton was burdened with a multitude of wandering families, whom famine had driven from the centre of the empire, where death had carried off an infinity of others. Parrenin would make us believe that the emperor and the great Mandarins take measures, from time to time, to diminish the number of the people, by depriving them of provisions, and sacrificing seven or eight hundred thousand inhabitants to the public repose: but this detestable policy is purely in the imagination of Parrenin; for it is the famines which have occasioned the greatest troubles which have made one province attack another, even to the eating the inhabitants, which is not a very rare thing in China. On such occasions authority, and commiseration are stifled; fathers have been seen to devour their
their

their children. But it is contradictory and absurd that the sovereign and governors, whose interest it is to preserve tranquility, should contrive to starve the people into a revolt, which may endanger their own lives and safety: for in despotic governments, every disaster is attributed to the sovereign: The Chinese make the emperors responsible for the wastes committed by the Locusts. In despotic states they forget God, and think only of their prince; who usurps, as far as he can, all the rights of the Almighty.

There are no regular troops in China to protect the inhabitants in the provinces, from the pillage of robbers; which are innumerable. In all the villages through which I passed, says Fontaney, I saw a lofty building, a kind of tower, where the villagers placed their effects when they apprehended the irruptions of the robbers. If these irruptions are to be feared upon the high roads, in the centre of the kingdom, one may guess how little security there is in places more distant and out of the way.

Notwithstanding all the checks to population which we have mentioned, the nature of the climate and the fecundity of the women in the southern provinces, produce a great increase of men. Some calculators make the population to amount to eighty-two millions, which, there is no doubt, is an exaggeration; but if it were true, the result will always be, that China, with respect to its extent, is less populous than Germany, which is about a sixth part of its size. As in China they chiefly burn a fossile coal, called *Mon-y*, it appears, at first, that this custom should produce the same effects as in Europe, where the provinces which use coal, are more populous than those which make use of wood for firing; for they can plow over lands which yield coal, as may be seen in the country of Leige, Scotland, and others. But to maintain woods for firing, a great deal of land is lost to agriculture: but this has not the same influence in China, where, in almost all the governments, districts of twenty leagues in length are empty; so that deserts are incomparably more extensive than forests need be, if they burnt wood.

As in China they have neither laws nor institution respecting health and the salubrity

brity of the air, there arises the greatest difference between them and the Egyptians, that can be found between any two people; for the latter had laws and institutions relative to the climate and the complexion of the inhabitants, which is very striking in my treatise on the dietetic regimen of the ancient Egyptians.

OF THE

STATE

OF

PAINTING AND SCULPTURE,

AMONG THE

EGYPTIANS, CHINESE, AND ORIEN-

TALS IN GENERAL.

WHEN two nations are supposed to have had one common origin, it is necessary to examine in what state the arts have been in both ; but this cannot be done

done by a comparison of some monuments of each. It embraces many circumstances which make it very difficult to develope. It is, however, necessary to know the causes which have prevented the Orientals from making any sensible progress in painting and statuary.

It is to be observed, that there is more analogy than has been believed, between the manner in which the Orientals paint, and the manner in which they speak. Ever since there were Greek painters in Europe and in Asia, such great difference was observed in their works, that they were distinguished as two kinds, the Hellenic and the Asiatic. The Grecian orators in the European and the cities of Asia, were in a like manner distinguished by the titles of Attic and Asiatic.

Without repeating the various opinions on this head, we shall adopt Quintilian's: that the Oriental style had its origin in the organs and in the instinct of those who speak and those who hear: *Dicentium et audientium natura.*

The

The moderns have been thought to have attributed too much to climate, in matters respecting genius ; but the ancients carried it further, since they imagined a great difference between the Attic and Beotian air, though both those small districts join.

Pliny mentions some paintings in Egypt, which were said to have existed ten thousand years. These were native colours, neither taken from animal or vegetable substances, and laid on the walls of grottos where the sun never came, in a country where scarcely ever rain falls. The walls are without the least appearance of nitre ; and the colours of blue and red, are remarkably vivid. There are colours which have lasted to this time, in spite of the efforts of the Arabs, and to be seen in the royal sepulchres of Bibanel-moluc, which may be supposed to have been laid on before the pyramids were built.

The Egyptians had no idea of a mixture of colours to create that harmony in painting which we admire ; a brightness resembling the colours of flowers, was all they aimed at. In all history there is no mention
of

of one Egyptian who was celebrated as a good painter. Augustus, after the death of Cleopatra, received but one painting by Nicias the Greek, and one porcelain vessel, of the murrine kind, which was all that was judged worthy of appearing at Rome.

In hot countries men are affected with very opposite humours. The spaniards even, are a very grave people, yet they love dancing passionately, infomuch they cannot keep without motion, if they hear the sound of a musical instrument. The Egyptians were inclined to an invincible melancholy; yet their imagination was very lively, which carried them from one extreme to another. In statuary they either made colossal or pigmy figures.

Some have fancied that the mummies had a Chinese phiziognomy; but this is owing to the damage done to the bridge of the nose, in extracting the brain through the nostrils; which was the practice in embalming. The present Copts who live in Egypt, descend from the ancient Egyptians indubitably, but have no feature like the Chinese, who are evidently

evidently of Tartar origin, and preserve the original character, having little beard, small eyes, and flat nose.

Ghirardini, an Italian painter who had seen every thing worth notice at Canton and Peking, where he painted the cupola of a church, says, that the Chinese had not the least idea of the fine arts. An Italian artist may be supposed to be easily disgusted, but the Tartars even could not bear the sight of their performances; and the four emperors since the conquest of the Tartar race, have always employed European painters. There is not a copper-plate engraver in all Asia; where they despise pictures too much to multiply the copies of them by means which call for more patience than the Orientals are susceptible of. What they cut in wood for moulds to print their cottons, they do with an astonishing quickness.

The Jesuits, in order to attract notice, painted the walls of their churches in China, under the reign of the emperor Can-hi, as is done in Europe frequently, to create a deception by the shading; and, though it was but indifferently performed, it had a wonderful

derful effect ; the emperor felt it with his hand, believing there was a depth in it. Ghirardini, who painted a colonade and some members of architecture at Peking, passed for a sorcerer ; who deceived the people by the means of Talismen. The savage admires nothing ; the ignorant man wonders at every thing. Ghirardini, who was not flattered by such admirers, was glad to get to Europe, where he published this relation.

Le Comte says, that the Chinese have not yet acquired a thorough knowledge of perspective ; whereas, the truth is, that they have not the least idea of its principles, though they are always painting landscapes, which have neither point of view, nor distance. They have not the least notion of rules to which the effects of light are subject ; in vain they attempt to plant objects at a distance, by placing them in the sky part of the picture, which has no such effect ; for the horizontal plane being boundless, the illusion of the perspective is lost ; besides, they neither know how to break, nor shade colours : one needs only look at a Chinese garden, represented by such painters, where

artificial mountains, precipices, ditches, and serpentine walks, trees without symmetry, and winding canals, mixt with so many other confused things, that nothing but the most depraved imagination could bring forth. The author gives other reasons why the arts in China, as well as in other parts of Asia, have remained in their infant state : he thinks that most of those arts they pretend to have invented, were received by them from India. They make many artificial flowers which are sent to Europe ; but there never was one, where the whole as to stem, leaves, calix, and the other parts of fructification, was ever executed to the satisfaction of a botanist.

The sculptors have the superiority, when compared with the painters in China ; which has been the same all over the world, not excepting Greece. When Statuary was at its zenith there, the famous painter Polygnotes, constantly erred against the rules of perspective : in fact the painter has more to do ; if his drawing is as correct as it should be, he has only half done his business. There are no statues in China older than the age of Confucius, who was contemporary with Herodotus

Herodotus, who had seen statues in Egypt many thousand years old.

The arts cultivated by the Egyptians, such as cutting fine stones and making glass, were those which the Chinese knew nothing of; and yet, contrary to the Egyptians, the Chinese make great use of seals. A fact of the last importance is, that the finest porcelain, the best wrought and painted, and varnished, or lacquered works, at Peking and all the great cities in China, are all brought from Japan, where they are superior in all ingenious manufactures.

After what has been said, it is easy to imagine that which the author has proved, that the Chinese are as deficient in architecture as in painting; and as far from a resemblance to the Egyptians as is possible. The Chinese, though their country is full of quarries of marble and stone, use only wood. The Egyptian architecture is indestructible; whereas the Chinese is fragile in all respects. The varnish and *papier machée* they use about their columns, render them highly inflammable: they have never known how to construct a stone edifice of two or three stories;

stories; they do not undertake it in wood: for which reason their cities take up so much ground. A pleasure house built for the emperor Can-hi, stood on as much ground as the city Dijon in France.

It is not so easy to find out the object which served as a model to the Egyptian architecture; but there is no mistaking that of the Chinese, which is a tent,* which is very conformable with their Tartar origin. Their houses would stand if you took away the walls; for they do not support the roof, but only surround it. Mr. Bougainville, in speaking of the Chinese establishment near Batavia, calls it, the Chinese camp.

The famous flying bridge that has been so frequently described, did never exist as it is described; and the inventor, who meant to exalt the ingenuity of the Chinese, had not common sense; for it is easy to see, that no such bridge could be formed by means of a Roman or Gothic arch, which is most commonly used in China. Probably the arch might rest on some rock, laid upon soft mould by accident, which was taken afterwards from the sides to give it this wonder-

* A Pagoda, of no matter how many stages, is only tent above tent,

ful

ful appearance: examples of which may be seen in the Alps. The arches of their bridges are so high and sharp pointed, that carriages cannot pass up and down the steps which are necessary to go over them; they say it is that the boats may pass with their masts; which might be avoided if they had the ingenuity to lower their masts to pass under bridges, which might be useful to carriages to pass over.

The famous royal canal, which is a stupendous work, was not made by the Chinese, who never knew how to take the necessary levels, but by the Mongol Tartars, about the year 1280 after our era, and would have been in ruins, but for the Mandhuis Tartars, who repaired it in 1640.

Obelisks and pyramids, the wonders of Egypt, are works totally unknown to the Chinese, who have no idea of building for duration; which is a difference in taste, precluding all appearance of connection between the two people.

It is supposed by some, that the trunk of the

the palm tree was the model of the Egyptian column.*

The roofs of the Egyptian temples and houses were flat; derived from the early habit of dwelling in caverns in the mountains of Ethiopia. Hence too, the passion of the priests for subterraneous chambers: some found 160 feet under ground. The custom of dwelling and studying in those gloomy mansions, gave birth to the Egyptian mysteries, and to the obscure communications of their notions in religion and philosophy.

The Chinese surround the tombs of their emperors and great men with extensive plantations: the Egyptians prohibited interments where ever a tree could grow.

The pyramids as well as the obelisks were erected in honour of the being which enlightens the universe; and this determined the priests to make the faces of the pyramids correspond with the four cardinal points, by

* Savary thus describes the most celebrated Egyptian column: It is of red granite, the capital Corinthian, nine feet high. The shaft and upper member of the base of one piece, ninety feet long, and nine in diameter. The whole 114 feet high; the most beautiful monument on the face of the earth.

which

which we can prove, to a certainty, that the poles of the earth have not changed in the course of at least 4000 years; which is an obligation we owe to the Egyptians: for in vain should we search over the surface of the globe for such testimony. Of obelisks, there were four-score of the first grandeur; such as has been described. Very false ideas have been entertained relative to Chaldea. There are no monuments or statues remaining, whilst all the cabinets of Europe have at all times been stored with Egyptian antiques.

which we can prove to a certainty, that the
 policy of the year 1791, was not changed in the
 course of at least forty years, which is an
 indication we owe to the Egyptians: for in
 1791, we found the same policy, even the same of
 the gods for such religion. Of which
 it was very evident of the full, grandeur
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C H I N O I S.

WHEN one considers the nature of Asiatic luxury, it is clearly seen to be the effect of despotism ; so that we may establish it as a rule, the application of which will hold good also in Europe, that the more servitude increases in a country, luxury, in a like proportion, keeps pace with it, till it arrives at that point where it changes into a vain ostentation without taste, excluding all workmanships that may be entitled the

the most excellent of their kinds. We have heard of very rich coverings for the Elephants of the emperor of China, and of vestments worth two lacks of rupees, or twenty-five thousand pounds, in which the Mogul sometimes dresses the Omras. We have also heard of horse-troughs of gold, and that the plate for the table of the Emperor of Persia was worth twenty two millions : but who has ever heard of the pictures or statues of the emperors of China, Persia, or of the Mogul ?

Where men are equally despicable without personal merit, who have done nothing which can be called virtuous, and on whom Heaven has bestowed no genius, the distinction between them must be made by the colours and richness of dress, and by those things which strike the eyes only of the populace; it is then that luxury changes its name and its nature. To conceive how this revolution is brought about, and to find the intermediate point between the two extremes we have nothing to do but to choose an example in the history of some celebrated people, and to mark the epochas with precision. It was immediately after the conquest of Egypt that the Romans fell into their great luxury

luxury, which went on increasing till the time of Commodus, when it was changed into pomp, and under Constantine it arrived at the tasteless Asiatic ostentation : from the first of these eras to the last, liberty declined, and the arts gradually degenerated.

We have only to consult all the remains of the monuments of eastern antiquity, to find that they have always, as well as at this time, been alike employed in fabricating stuffs of a price so excessive, as to be almost incredible. Chardin says, that in his time, they made gold brocades in Persia worth thirty-three thousand livres, or fifteen hundred pounds the ell; but that he saw no furniture or workmanship executed with taste and elegance.

As they prefer the matter to the workmanship, it follows, that great artists, if there were any such, must starve in such a country : luxury degenerated into ostentation has no need but of labourers, not artists. A smith made the money, diadem, scepter, and harness for the horses of the emperor Constantine. It is true that the type of the medals

medals of the emperor Julian are not much better, but he died too soon, or was born too late, to repair all the mischiefs that despotism had wrought.

It has been a thousand times said, that the fine arts can flourish only where men are free. But the reason is not so well known, nor so easy to find, as may be thought: the more the effect is sensible the more the cause is hid. The Russians who were sent from the court of Peterburgh into Italy, to learn the arts of drawing and painting, have been made free: but as this can work no change in the organs or physical constitution of the young men, it may be asked, if they will make more progress by the pure effect only of enfranchisement, than if they had continued in a state of slavery? Yes—if besides they have in them the seeds of genius. In a word, this is what seems to me the true solution of this problem.

We must distinguish those who are born slaves in two points of view; those who never reflect on their misfortune, and those who are always afflicted with that idea. In the first it is obvious there is a want of penetration,

netration, that their sentiment is no more than in negroes, or domestic animals ; so that all pains of instruction are thrown away on such men. In the second case, those slaves who conceive all the grandeur of the benefit that fatality and injustice have deprived them of, it is visible that the idea of this misfortune must incessantly occupy their minds ; and so intirely does this sorrowful thought rise above all others, that they are incapable of a steady attention, so necessary in the pursuit, and to arrive at any tolerable success in the fine arts, to which a man ought to consecrate himself intirely, and to be inaccessible to all other cares and sentiments : for, if we may be permitted to use the expression, the soul cannot bear two loads at once ; and without doubt that of slavery is the greatest to a person capable of reflection. They might perhaps become philosophers like Epictetus, and embrace the most rigid virtue, which can alone console them under the loss of liberty, rather than excellent painters, or great poets, whose spirit ought to be divine, and their style strong and melodious.

Some

Some enfranchisements among slaves have produced great effects; as we find from ancient history in many examples: but by the greatest misfortune imaginable, freedom cannot be granted in the despotic states of Asia, with the like advantages that it was amongst the Greeks and Romans. A man may be drawn from the chains of domestic servitude, but he still remains in those of civil slavery.

It is very sorrowful after all, to see so many philosophers alarmed at the reiterated efforts that are made to establish arbitrary power in Europe; which they suppose will, in less than three hundred years, resemble that of Asia. The combustion will however be more rapid in Europe, than it was formerly in Asia Minor, where men have less real and physical wants; so that almost every thing may be taken from them before they will be starved to death. And that has happened. When the Greek emperors of Constantinople, whom we know to have been the most infamous of princes, first laid a tax upon air, *pro haustu Aëris*; the number left to breath it in Ionia was so few, that by the reduction, the farmers of the tax did not gain

gain as they had done under Constantine. The history of the finances of the lower empire would be very interesting ; but such as no man of humanity could read without tears.

As to the influence of climate with respect to the fine arts, we will endeavour to indicate some of them, without repeating anything that has been said of the Oriental style. In hot countries men have not that strength of mind which submits the imagination to rule ; carried away at all times by their vivacity, they cannot, for any length of time, fix their eyes upon a model, so as to be master of the outlines. Almost all the painters in those countries have the same defects as young beginners with us ; that is to say, that in two or three shades, they pass from dark to light, whilst great masters, whose minds are better settled, employ infinitely more time in working down the shades, that the effect may be insensible.

Of all the operations which a constantly hot air produces on the human body, the most singular is that which has been but little noticed : that under the burning climates

men sleep less than in the temperate regions, and much less again than in the northern ones, where the vital heat, concentrated about the heart and stomach, enables the Greenlanders and Eskimaus to sleep a long time at once. It was formerly said, that between the tropics they found people who never dreamed when they slept : but they would have been much nearer the truth, in attributing this prodigy to the inhabitants of the Glacial zone.

It is a fact, observed by Boerhaave, that sleep is seemingly diminished in all animals whose stomachs are weakened in proportion as the blood is heated. In burning climates nature has produced an increase of aromatic plants, without a great use of which, no person would be long able to digest his food. It follows from this observation, that the people of such countries have their vital spirits much more augmented, because they have less sleep : for there is nothing but that repose, natural or artificial, which can calm the vital spirits. What we would call a poetical enthusiasm, is in them a violent ecstacy ; so that they can scarcely find language strong enough to describe what they are persuaded

in

in themselves they conceive ; to such a degree, that Pindar's verses would be but as creeping prose, compared with their poetry. I have long perceived that the monsters and chimeras which are constantly produced in eastern sculpture and painting, spring from the same source with the exaggerated metaphors and allegories of their poets. It is the same heat of imagination which keeps them equally wide of good sense in all they say and do, and prevents both one and the other from producing any thing natural.

The *Nepenthe* is used in Egypt by some people every day, as opium in some other countries ; and the dose is, by degrees, increased to half a drachm, when it will make a man so far forget the history of his life, that he has not the least trace of what is passed, nor any reflection about the future. It is the art of turning brute, and arriving the nearest that is possible to that sort of felicity which one may suspect to be in animals, in which they, very probably, have no idea of death ; that is to say, that there is no beast which knows that he is to die, not even when he sees the dead bodies of his fellow-creatures
before

before him, nor even when he is expiring ; whilst this apprehension agitates and affrightens ordinary persons, even in the midst of their pastimes : for I speak not of philosophers who are above all such alarms, and in that state of repose which is the reward of virtue.

The Chinese have been extremely wide of fixing the bounds of parental authority. It may be doubted indeed if they ever thought about it; for over and above the right of selling their children, the legislature gives them a power of life and death, to authorize infanticide, which in that country is practised in many different ways. The midwives stifle the children in warm water, and are paid regularly for the execution. They are also thrown into the river at Pekin, after tying a gourd to their backs, where they sometimes float a long time before they expire. Their cries would in any other country shock all human nature; but they are so much accustomed to it there as not to regard it. A third manner in which they get rid of them, is to expose them in the streets, that the dung-carts, which pass by in the mornings at Pekin, may take them up and carry them to the dung-hills :

dung-hills: they generally put them into a ditch where they are not covered over, in hopes that the Mahometans may take some of them away; but before these tumbrels come to them, it often happens that they are eaten alive by dogs, or above all by hogs, which are very numerous in the streets. This atrocity is without example even amongst the Antropophagi: the cause exists in their insatiable avarice.

The Jesuits assure us, that in three years only, they have reckoned nine thousand seven hundred and two children so destined to the dunghill; but they have not counted those trodden under foot by the horses and mules, nor those eaten by dogs and hogs, nor those strangled as soon as they were born, nor those destroyed by other means.

It may be deemed wonderful that in the variety of knowledge of the Egyptians, they should have been without ovens. The chickens were hatched in a manner, that the emperor Hadrian says, fastidiously enough, in a man who had built a temple to Antinous, "*Pudet dicere*" in dung-hills. That method

is

is now abandoned. Our author thinks that the ostrich might have furnished the first hint, and that the mode of raising bees in Virgil's Georgics, came from the Egyptians.

He observes of drinking tea and coffee, and so generally of all warm beverages, that there is a kind of charm that bewitches those who are accustomed to them; insomuch, that all the power of despotism could not make the Turks and Chinese renounce, the one their coffee, the other their tea.

There is no proper inducement to engage the people of China to live in the country; for which reason they find more encouragement for their avarice by crowding to the cities on the sea shores.

It is very extraordinary that the art of making porcelaine, should be of such ancient date in Asia; and in those countries where it was known, they should have made no glass till the middle of the last century.

In China, from avarice or poverty, men are found who will take the bastinado for another for a sum of money, which the magistrate permits : so that one is punished he cares not.

The Egyptians had a method of distributing fires to prevent contagion.* This secret was communicated to Acron, a Sicilian, and by him to the Greek physicians.

The

* It is without doubt that the use of ventilators, and vinegar in the apartments, are beneficial to the health of the crews on ship-board. But it seems to me very probable, that the great success of Captain Cook, in the preservation of his men, was owing to the fires he so frequently made between the decks. Fire is the greatest devourer in nature of foul air. If the society for the encouragement of the Arts and Sciences, who do so much good, with so much honour to themselves, should favour this opinion, a premium from them might produce something more commodious for that purpose than is known, both as to the machine, and the matter to be burnt in it. Perhaps the resinous woods should be preferred.

TRANSLATOR.

The artificial method of hatching chickens, is peculiar to the Egyptians. Monf. Maillet proposed sending some persons into France to effect it there ; but finding that the Sheic, or priest, was concerned in the management, he thought, that every neglect or mistake would be attributed to his absence, on which he declined it.

It is observed by several travellers, that the people in the hot climates of Asia, never perform any labour but to the sound of some instrument, generally of the sharp cast; which may be attributed to the laziness of the mind, which requires constant rousing.

Those who are desirous of being acquainted with the most circumstantial details, which relate to the Chinese and Egyptians, as to their manner of living with their women, religions, mode of nourishment, in which the dietetic regimens of the Egyptians are so different, not only from the Chinese, but the whole world; their architecture, and in fine every thing that can distinguish one people from

from another, will consult the original, where they will receive the fullest conviction of the author's discriminative powers,—Learning and Industry.

from another, with doubt the original, where
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
SPARTANS OR LACEDEMONIANS.

TRANSLATED FROM
LES
RECHERCHES PHILOSOPHIQUES

SUR LES
G R E C S.

PAR
MONS. DE PAUW.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANTIENT LACEDÆMONIANS.

TRANSLATED FROM

THE

RESEARCHES OF PHILOSTRATUS

OF THE

G. R. C. E.

BY THE AUTHOR

THIS Work was Published since the death of the Author ; in which the Spartans are placed in a point of view so different from the general representations of that people, that it may be deemed a New History.

THIS WORK was published from the press of
the Author; in which the opinions are placed in a
point of view so different from the general
sentiments of that people, that it may be deemed
a New History.

OF THE

LACEDEMONIANS.

I.

Preliminary Observations upon this People.

BEFORE the art of judging of nations had been reduced to certain rules and principles, one was, in this respect, embarrassed with such uncertainty, that every thing relative to national vices and virtues, was spoken at random.

The most hyperbolical praises were generally bestowed on military nations; and historians, who are rarely philosophers, saw
nothing

nothing greater in the wide range of the ancient world, than the pretended exploits of the Lacedemonians ; who, notwithstanding, have never quitted the class of Barbarians, since they neither cultivated the sciences nor arts. They knew only how to sharpen javelins and poniards, and to plunder those who were weaker than themselves ; and in the end, they made of the city of Lacedemon, what Plato calls the Lion's-den, where almost all the gold and silver of Greece were swallowed up. It is easy to discover the courses by which these immense treasures were introduced, but not to find out the traces of their departure.

This depredation, maintained during several ages by robbers truly insatiable, forms the most gloomy picture of the whole Grecian history. One sees incessantly perfidy in concert with open force, and the most sacred notions of justice yield to the slightest allurements of a fordid interest.

The most inconsistent work ever written respecting the Lacedemonians, is a dissertation of Mr. de Gourcy ; and one is vexed to be obliged to add, that this dissertation has even been crowned by the academy of inscriptions

scriptions at Paris, much like the manner in which the tragedies of Denys the tyrant were crowned at Athens.

Nevertheless, Mr. de Gourcy was ignorant of the first elements of historical criticism, and absolutely had not any kind of penetration to distinguish the grossest errors from the most striking truths. He was not content to raise Lycurgus above the common rank of men, but he makes a god of him : and according to him, human nature never produced a genius comparable to his.*

It is difficult to find expressions adequate to characterize an enthusiasm so absurd, and which discovers such profound ignorance of ancient history ; where never any person was less known, or really more obscure than Lycurgus.

Plutarch owns†, without any reservation, that the Greeks absolutely knew nothing positive relative to this man, and he relates the fables spread respecting him, without being

* *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des loix de Lycurgue*, p. 52.

† *Introduction a la vie de Lycurgue*.

able to quote two authors who are exactly of opinion concerning any of these fables.

There is nothing surprizing in the uncertainty of the Greeks on this head, when one considers, that the pretended institutions attributed to Lycurgus, were never digested in a written form ; and, that at this time, we know no one, the authenticity of which is warranted, according to the rules of sound criticism.

Formerly, no person at Lacedemon applied to the study of literature and history : they lived in an absolute ignorance of antiquity. The learned of the other parts of Greece had little inclination to travel into a district so inhospitable ; where strangers were horribly persecuted. And, at this day, no philosopher is tempted to go to Cape Tenaros, to study the manners and customs of the Laconian robbers, called *Manotes* ; where, on the first landing, they are stript, and assassinated if they penetrate the interior parts of the country.

Hellanicus, the most ancient Greek historian, maintained, that Lycurgus had never been a legislator at Lacedemon* ; and, if by this

* Strabon, Geographie, Lib. 8.

this vague term of legislator, we wish strictly to describe one who puts a society into order and gives a state a form of civil government, one cannot deny but that Hellanicus is right in this sense : for none of the great political institutions of the Spartans could be the work of Lycurgus, since, long before his birth, they had two kings at the same time at Lacedemon ; and that, yet long after his death, they there created the five annual Ephori. But it is precisely upon this combined power of the kings and ephori, that the civil government rested. As to the senate of old men, the Dorians had already, even before they conquered Lacedemon, a council of that kind ; and we know, that amongst all the savages on earth, no authority is above that of the old men. It is instinct which has taught this to men in a state of nature ; and that which instinct teaches, we are sure to find again in all climates.

In short, it is a fact, that Lycurgus did not institute the Ephori ; and it is another truth, that he was not the institutor of the double royalty or diarchy of Sparta, which must be esteemed as merely the effect of chance. A queen was brought to bed of male twins, and whether by the intrigues of this princess, as
Herodotus

as Herodotus says, or by any other influence now unknown, it was then decided at court that the twins should reign together, and that their posterity should make an exact partition of the monarchy between them. This decision opposed to the first notions of sound policy, gave place to two collateral dynasties; seated at the same time upon the same throne, one was called the race of the Agides, and the other the race of the Euripontides.

The weight of this double royalty was such, that it ought at first to have crushed all national liberty, and afterwards excited a civil war between the reigning branches; of which, according to the natural progress of immoderate ambition, one should have extinguished the other in its blood. There is no need of great penetration to anticipate such catastrophes, and it is not surprising that the Lacedemonians, threatened then with the greatest of misfortunes, did in the end establish a magistracy capable of balancing the power of the two kings, and moreover capable of terminating the incessant dissensions of such rivals.

The race of the Euripontides, which was the weakest and the least respected, because it
was

was properly the younger branch, shew all the favour it could to the institution of the ephori, which indubitably would have been annihilated by the race of the Agides, to which, the throne, in right of priority, belonged.*

Of all the whimsical arrangements, in which Lycurgus had never the least share, the result was a form of government so irregular, that no Greek politician could ever define it, nor has any nation ever attempted to imitate it. Indeed we see that this government was neither the efforts of reason, nor the inspiration of human wisdom, but the effect of chance, or the blind cause which produced the princes; and if a queen had not lain-in of twins, there never would have been two kings at the same time at Lacedemon.

All that we have been able to discover hitherto, concerning Lycurgus, that is probable, is, that he passed into the isle of Crete, and from thence brought to Sparta, some mi-

* It was king Theopompus, of the younger branch of the Euripontides, who engaged the Lacedemonians to create the ephori, one hundred and thirty years after the death of Lycurgus. He did it, he said, for the safety of himself and family.

litary customs and exercises belonging to that people ; consequently, he was neither a creative genius, nor an original one, and much less a man inspired by the divinity, as some enthusiasts of old days have said, and as some enthusiasts of our times have repeated.

We see so marked a resemblance between the Cretan and Lacedemonian institutions, that the greater part of the Greek authors confess, that such an analogy could be the effect only of a servile imitation. Polybius is the only one who has opposed this generally received opinion in Greece, but his arguments are so weak and inconclusive, that in this respect he has been quitted by his own partisans.

The Cretans, at the same time shepherds and hunters, were divided into a great number of independent colonies, who, during the civil war, mutually robbed each others herds; and on account of this discord, were plundered by the pirates and free-booters of the Mediterranean, who landed on their coasts. This critical situation inspired the Cretans with the idea of being always armed, to form barracks of soldiers, who dined in common

common, and went through the military exercises; the most necessary of exercises, in order to protect their possessions from the neighbouring colonists, and foreign freebooters.

These institutions appeared very sensible to the Lacedemonians, who were a small number, in the middle of a large country that they had conquered by reducing the ancient inhabitants to slavery; in such sort, that they were as much in fear of their own slaves as the Cretans were of each other.

No inhabitant of Laconia, who had submitted to the Spartans, dared to have in his house—sword, javelin, or arrow; and, tho' they were thus disarmed, they butchered them in secret, to reduce them lower and lower. It is generally known, that the young men of Lacedemon, armed with a cuirass, helmet, and lance, hunted the Helotes naked and destitute of every kind of defensive weapon; they drew them into ambuscades, and afterwards attacked them with arms in their hands; as wild beasts fall upon a herd of cattle they have watched into a narrow part of a deep valley.

Plato

Plato and Aristotle assert, that it was Lycurgus himself who taught the Spartans this dreadful policy; and to calm the remorse which such perfidies and murders might excite in the most atrocious minds, they contrived to make a kind of declaration of war against the Helotes, in profound peace. As soon as the Ephori entered upon their charge, mounted on their tribunal, they give publick notice that any one might kill as many of those slaves as they could possibly draw into an ambuscade; and in one day they decoyed to the number of two thousand, who were stabbed to the heart with poniards at the feet of the household-gods, where the Lacedemonians had invited them under pretext of giving them their liberty. They first crowned them with festoons of flowers, as was customary with freed-men, and then sacrificed them as victims, or as beasts in a slaughter-house.

When they dared to say that such institutions were approved of by the oracle at Delphos, we are bound, above all things, to believe that this pretended god of Delphos, was himself an unnatural monster, who could give his sanction to a code dictated by perfidy and

and written in characters of blood. It is thus that we have fallen from one absurdity to another in such a confusion of ideas, as have never been equalled amongst men.

In order to disentangle such a chaos as this, it is first necessary to have a clear conception of this country of Greece, which they called Laconia, where the earth was embued with so much blood, shed by the most barbarous of conquerors.

II.

General Description of Laconia.

THE whole surface of the Peloponnesus may be compared to the figure of a cone, the top of which is in Arcadia. From this sort of pike are detached two chains of rocks, which are lengthened from north to south, even into the bosom of the Mediterranean, where, on one side they form Cape Tenaros, and on the other Cape Malea : all the space between these two arms and the sea coasts were properly called Laconia ; which, from the confines of Angolis to those of Messenia,

inclosed near one hundred and fifty square leagues.

This country, at a distance, bore the appearance of a bowl or basin, surrounded in the greatest part of its circumference with very high mountains, clothed with thick forests of firs, where the armies of the enemy could scarcely make their way through ; but once these heights were gained, there was a regular descent to the bottom of a long valley watered by the Eurotas. The principal ornament of this river, so celebrated in the mythology, consisted in thickets of myrtle and laurel, which naturally adorned its banks, and in a prodigious quantity of swans that covered its waters, which the most solid banks could scarcely contain after the melting of the snows : whilst in the middle of summer the Eurotas was not navigable for the smallest boats.

The city of Sparta or Lacedæmon stood on the north part of this valley, where, in a long extent, one could see nothing but vineyards, avenues of planes, plantations of olive trees, gardens, and pleasure houses, which furnished, as Xenophon observes, an immense booty to the troops of Epaminondas, after the

the battle of Leuctra ; and those who had so often pillaged all the Grecian states, were then plundered in their turn as they deserved.*

As soon as they left Lacedemon, rising towards the south, they got to Amyclæ, where the habitations surpassed all others in the beauty of their situation ; and this district was at the same time the most fertile of Laconia, and the most rural abode of the Peloponnesus. In the spring the fields were intirely variegated with wild hyacinths ; and Polybius assures us, that the beauty of the trees and the vivacity of their verdure, disputed the preference with the fruits in beauty. The only inconvenience to be complained of there, consisted in a degree of heat almost insupportable, occasioned by the proximity of Mount Taygetus, which, on the approach of the summer solstice, reflected the sun's rays ; whilst in winter the tops of the rock are hid with a bed of snow, which sailors discover at a great distance, even in the month of May, under the appearance of a whitish cloud, which hides the horizon of the Morea from their view.

* Xenophon, Helleniques. Liv. 6.

Lacedemon placed at the distance of eight leagues from the nearest sea coast, could never become a very commercial city; for this unfavourable position in all respects excluded it from the commercial sphere of Greece, on account of the impossibility of getting up the Eurotas with loaded vessels. As the Lacedemonians had however need of a magazine to keep their naval forces together, and a part of their merchant ships, they chose the city of Gythion for this purpose, situated at the mouth of a little river which empties itself into the Laconic Gulph, in a place now known by the name of Colokythia; there they hollowed out a spacious basin, defended on one side by piers, and on the other by so many ramparts and fortifications, that Epaminondas and Philip son of Demetrius could not force this port in the midst of their victories, and after they had routed all the armies on land. This circumstance alone shows the error of those who imagine that the Spartans, trusting to their valour, had never entrenched themselves in the middle of Laconia. It was from reasons purely political that they dared not to inclose the capital in walls, lest one of their kings, or both at once, might become despotic; but as it was decreed by
a positive

a positive law, that the kings could never command their fleets, they feared not the influence of their power over the marine of Gythion, where they not only fitted out the squadrons, but freighted the merchant ships destined for Crete, Africa and Egypt; where Thucydides assures us that the inhabitants of Laconia carried on a regular trade, and as they had an irresistible inclination for piracy, their privateers were in time of war the scourge of Athenian merchants, who, to insure the carriage of the gold and silver coin, had recourse, as we have seen,* to the operations of exchange, and so put a part of their fortune under the protection of the Spartan Corsairs.

As soon as one left the long valley, watered by the Eurotas, the ground was more elevated, and consequently less fertile; where the unevenness of the ground, rendered all ploughing excessively incommodious to all draught cattle; in such a manner, that the production of this soil was far from equaling that of the low lands, situated between Pelena and Sellasia, which the Lacedemo-

* The manner of insurance is explained in a former part, and their acquaintance with stock-jobbing.

nian nobility seized at the time of the conquest, leaving to the lower order, says Isocrates, the stoney fields of difficult culture : from whence arose an infinity of complaints and remonstrances against the agrarian laws, which were so manifestly unjust, that one can call them nothing but a robbery or a tyranny.†

By a necessary consequence of this disposition of ground, such as we have described it, some cities situated on the declivity of the mountains, where they could collect the brooks and sources which descended from the heights, had an abundance of water, whilst others remote, near the sea coasts, felt a great scarcity; as at Pyrrhica and Cyphanta. It was precisely in this spot, Pausanias says,‡ that Atalanta, returning from hunting, and being thirsty, struck the rock with her javelin, and caused a fountain to spout out.

The impossibility of the Lacedemonian husbandmen to form meadows and pastures on the high lands, made an establishment of

† Isocrates, Panath. p. 418.

‡ Pausanias, Laconiques, C. 23.

cavalry

cavalry very expensive, and gave rise to that curse they bestowed on all their enemies: "may you, said they, be obliged to raise banks against the Eurotas, build houses, keep horses, and have a perfidious wife!" This was, according to their notions, an almost infallible mode to ruin them, and to ruin them uncomfortably.

The most eastern part of Laconia, that was formerly called the Maleatide coast, is now by corruption called Malvasie, was well furnished with vineyards, but naturally little wooded and little frequented by game; whilst towards the foot of mount Taygetus, the vast forest of mount Enoras, harboured deer, stags, wild boars, and above all that race of bears which infested all the mountains of Greece, and there formed a kind of indigenous animals.

After traversing the wood of Enoras, at the utmost distance was seen the top of two steep rocks, that the inhabitants of that coast called the Thyrides; they were raised in the form of an immense obelisk upon the promontory of Tenarus, the base of which is excavated by the operations of subterranean fires, and the black marble there raised

fed really belongs to the class of lavas. It is at the very entrance of these caverns, blackened by the smoke of the ancient volcanos, that the mythologists placed not only the gates of the poetic hell, but moreover, the throne of the winds, the course of the storms, and the stable of Neptune's horses; whose temple, cut out of the rock in the shape of a grotto, was surrounded with a forest of firs, the obscurity of which increased the horror of this landscape; where no other sound was heard but the roaring of the waves of the Mediterranean, which raised a froth against the breakers of Tenarus, often covered with the fragments of vessels dashed in pieces by the tempests. No place in all ancient Greece combined in so small a space, so many doleful appearances; but nothing distressed the traveller so much, as the ruins he met with at the mouth of the Eurotas, which were the ruins of the unfortunate Helos, whose inhabitants were reduced to a state of slavery, so much the more oppressive, as the military service was united to the slavery of tilling the ground, from which even the negroes are exempt; whilst the Helotes were always placed in the front of the Spartan battalions, in such a way, that all the fury of the enemy fell upon them. Helos

Helos, before its destruction, was reckoned amongst the hundred cities that stood formerly on a space of one hundred and fifty square leagues, in Laconia. The greater part of these habitations, constructed along the coasts by the ancient Achæians, were successively destroyed during the Spartan wars; and those which escaped those flames, yielded to the horrible earthquakes occasioned by the conflagration of volcanic substances, inclosed in the bosom of Mount Taygetus, and in the caverns of Tenarus. It seems as if nature and mankind had conspired the ruin of this country; of which, no part was more cruelly plundered, says Polybius, than this which joined Arcadia and Argolis, where the fights and massacres were without end. The Lacedemonians were always encroaching upon the domains of the neighbouring nations, who drove back the aggressors with fire and sword; so that the earth was scattered with carcases, ashes, and ruins.

At the time when Strabo lived, the hundred cities of Laconia were reduced to thirty towns, which Pausanias has much embellished by his description; for he had the art to see great things, where more judicious observers scarcely saw shadows. In the same

manner Titus Livius mentions all the dwellings of this country ruined by war, as little towns and fortifications, *Vici et Castella*; if we except Gythion and Sparta.

The natives of Laconia, who were the most unfortunate people that ever existed on the face of the earth, could formerly furnish an army of thirty thousand fighting men, as Aristotle positively affirms : but by the consequence of a military government, of itself destructive, they shared the lot which the cities had experienced ; and after many ages of wars and devastations, they saw themselves reduced to a handful of men, who were either slaves or beggars. The depopulation was yet more rapid amongst the Lacedemonians of the Doric race; of which, according to Macrobius, there were not fifteen hundred individuals left in the reign of the last Agis; and seven hundred only, according to Plutarch's calculation.*

King Cleomenes, who succeeded Agis, seeing the state almost extinct for want of men, created nine thousand citizens, drawn from the class of emancipated Helotes, and

* Saturnales, lib. 1. c. 11.—Plutarch's Life of Agis.

the tributary Laonians. He had but just finished this operation, when, hurried on by his ordinary rashness, he had the imprudence to lead this new people to war, and engage in a most bloody battle with the Macedonians, which he completely lost. So that after this general defeat, they reckoned no more than two hundred Lacedemonians, who were, for the most part, exterminated by the tyrant Nabis.*

The pilots of antiquity laid the length of the coasts of Laconia at three days navigation, to such vessels as used oars and followed all the sinuosities of the land. The true point of departure was at the mouth of a brook named the Little Palmesa, under the walls of the city of Leuctra, where Laconia began to the west, and stretched towards the east to the port of Prasfa, upon the Argolic gulph. During this course many different islands were seen, none of which were inhabited, except Cythera, which was looked upon as belonging to the continent, from which it was separated only by a canal five hundred paces wide, but very difficult to pass in

* Plutarch.—Life of Cleomenes.

stormy weather ; for then they risked their ships being cast against the promontory of Malea, of which, the very sight made the Greek navigators turn pale, who were not very deeply skilled in their business ; since it had been very easy to avoid this dangerous strait, become celebrated for a thousand shipwrecks ; they had only to stand on southward, and double the point Cythera, whose inhabitants were generally esteemed very industrious and very economical. Such was the character of all the little colonies spread over the most sterile islands of the Archipelago. They compared them to men who had formerly been ants, who in changing their form had preserved their manners : to labour, heap up, and not to enjoy, were the three things they preferred to all others.*

One needs only land at Cythera to be convinced of the excessive vanity of the ancient mythologists, whose confused imagination of the real local state of this island, fixed on it as the seat of voluptuousness ; "in fields constantly covered with flowers, under myrtle bowers consecrated to love," whilst one could see no-

* Heraclide du Pont, C. 24. Ovid Metam. lib. 7.
F. 25.

thing but a heap of frightful lofty aerial rocks, which, according to the periple of Scylax, in its greatest length, was only a hundred stadia; among the interfices of these rocks one might cultivate such shrubs as the vine and fig tree, but could raise no other alimentary grain than barley, nor feed other domestic animals than herds of goats: but as Laconia was not a country of gaiety, the goatherds were never heard to sing like the shepherds of Arcadia, along the Alphea and the Ludon.

Thueydides affirms, that during the Peloponnesian war, when the Athenians conquered Cythera, they could obtain a tribute only of 400 attic talents, about 18,000 French livres; so that it was purely the commodious ports of this island, which particularly interested the republic of Lacedemon in the possession of it; who had here formed, in the great road of Scandea, a magazine, and harbour for their merchant vessels. And formerly, in times of the most remote antiquity, the Phœnicians had an establishment there, which is at this day called *Phenicori*. There is not the least doubt amongst the learned who have studied the Greek paganism, that the *Venus Urania*, which
the

the Cytherians represented under the figure of a woman in armour, was originally the same divinity as the *Phœnician Astarté*. They were induced to come to this island by the abundance of shell-fish which they procured on these coasts for dying purple, of which, there were many manufactures in Laconia. But they never could arrive at the vivacity and brightness of colour that the Tyrians had the art to bestow ; and the stuffs of this part of Greece, exposed to sale by the side of those from Syria, looked faded, like madder, by the side of scarlet.*

As to the other natural productions of Laconia, it was above all rich in wood for building; in mineral and metallic substances, as iron, lead, brás, and stones coloured in the nature of green marble, and the emeralds of mount Taygetus. The arts they chiefly followed had for the most part some re-

* The island of Cythera had its name from the contracted term of Cerythera, which signifies a place where they fished for purple shell fish, called in Greek *Ceryx*. The ancient name of the island which was Porphyrysa, had equally a relation to this shell fish, the symbol of the Cytherian Venus, which the ancient public criers of Greece used as a trumpet to assemble the people; they were therefore called Ceryces.

lation to metallurgy, and the temper of cutting instruments, fabricated according to the Laconic mode, were so celebrated, that they obtained the preference in the Peloponnesian fairs, where joiners work, executed in the neighbourhood of Lacedemon, was equally sought after ; such as chairs, tables, and above all, those beds become so famous in the luxury of the ancients, under the name of Laconic beds, because they were stuffed with the down of the swans frequenting the banks of the Eurotas, in the neighbourhood of Amiclæ.

Such was this country, first possessed by the ancient Achæians, and since conquered by the Spartans, who were originally of Mount Oeta, under the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude. There they occupied four or five paltry towns in a district very rough and barren, which properly formed the lesser Doris.

These highlanders of the Oeta were not savages according to all the rigour of terms, but ferocious barbarians, who sacrificed human victims, and threw their new-born infants to the dung-hill ; a custom they have since attributed to Lycurgus, but which, according

according to appearances, belonged to times much more remote. This race of men, persecuted in the Doride, by cold, hunger, and misery, upon rocks almost always covered with snow, bethought themselves of seeking a new country, and began to emigrate four-score years after the siege of Troy. It was then divided into different hordes, and conducted by different chieftains they sometimes called *Bagoi*, at other times *Archagètes*. These caciques, the issue of the little kings of the Doride, had the vanity to draw their origin from Hercules; and in a country where all the inhabitants composed romantic and ridiculous genealogies, they were far from calling in question the genealogy of the Heraclides, as they were successful conquerors, and, consequently, right noble. In short, they were descended from Hercules, as Alcibiades was descended from Jupiter, and Julius Cesar from Venus.

These emigrants departed from Mount Oeta, keeping a direct south course, arrived at the gulph of Corinth, which they passed in canoes to Naupactus, and by dint of massacres and devastations, they managed so as to subdue a great part of the Peloponnesus, and chiefly Laconia, which in the division
fell

fell to the Doric horde, the most brutal and barbarous of all.

III.

*Of the Manner in which the Spartans treated
Laconia, after its conquest.*

AT the approach of these pitiless usurpers, who overset the most flourishing states of the Peloponnesus, and put all to fire and sword, a great many of the Achaians saved themselves from Laconia, and the flight was almost general in the parts nearest to the Argolide country and Arcadia: but the inhabitants of Helos retired towards the south, to the mouth of the Eurotas, could not escape; and as their city was of difficult access, on account of marshes which surrounded it, they made a long resistance; but without succour from any one, they were at length obliged to bend their neck, and receive the yoke.

The other cities of Laconia which had not been totally abandoned by the ancient natives, were declared tributary, and despoiled

of their privileges, and every kind of municipal right; in such sort, that cities had less power and less influence in the civil government of Lacedemon, than the villages of Attica, in the republic of Athens.*

After having stretched the right of conquest to the extreme, the Spartans seized the best lands to divide amongst themselves, of which they formed a kind of fiefs, which passed then from the father to the eldest son, but never to the youngest. One could not contrive, says a Greek politician, more vicious institutions, nor more proper to destroy all idea, and all equality of the natural power of citizens; seeing, that the families issuing from the younger branches possessed nothing, and were successively reduced to a state of manifest indigence.

By a second operation, no better digested than the first, the women were declared capable to succeed to these sort of feudal portions; and they did so, in such a manner, that at the time when Aristotle wrote, the greater part of the lands of Laconia were in the hands of these women, whom they called *Epiclères*,

* Isocrates, Panath. p. 419.

or universal heiresses of all the male branches, extinct by the dreadful effects of a military government.

Nothing is more chimerical than the pretended project attributed to Lycurgus, who was desirous, say they, to establish an equality of fortune amongst the Lacedemonians ; for one conceives this equality could never result from a partition of lands in a mountainous country, where the ancient land-surveyors did not know how to form two portions exactly equivalent. And it was only in times much later, that geometricians at length found out that uneven grounds did not produce in proportion to their real surface, but in proportion to their horizontal plane : as the rain and dew fall nearly in a perpendicular line, and as vegetables follow the same direction in their growth, it follows hence, that a convex piece of ground can never be fairly valued according to the contents of its superficies, but always to its plane surface. One may be even astonished that the Academy of Sciences of Paris, in the middle of the eighteenth century, should have given a decision touching this problem, that may be found

found already solved in a work of Frontinus, who wrote in the time of Trajan.*

Besides, in the division of Laconia, there were other great injustices: to the inferior people were assigned only the high grounds, sloping from the mountains, very difficult to cultivate; though the geometrical contents were the same with those which the Lacedæmonian nobility took for themselves in the long valley of the Eurotas.

But independently of all these considerations, it is very easy to comprehend that a division of lands, made with all the exactness imaginable, can never establish any equality of fortune amongst any people, or in any society whatever: for those citizens who have a numerous progeny, are, from that moment, more poor than those who have few, or none; for the weight of the family is augmented, whilst the income, from the dependance, remains the same; and when afterwards another division is to be made,

* *Quidquid de terra nascitur, in aerem rectum exit; et illam terræ obliquitatem crescendo atterit, nec majus spatium occupat, quam si de plano nascatur.*

FRONT. DE RE AGRARIA, p. 283.

the

the portions are respectively smaller as the heirs multiply ; without saying any thing of so many accidents and disasters which day and night occurs from fires, loss of cattle, want of knowledge in the different species of farming, which alone are sufficient to ruin some and enrich others. There is no remedying these inconveniences by the introduction of the right of eldership, or of the first born, since that in its nature is destructive of all equality, and beggars all the younger children.

As then the equality of fortune is to be reckoned in the number of those things which are shown to be morally and physically impossible, it follows that those men who pretended to be philosophers, as Rousseau, and historians, as Plutarch, have attributed to Lycurgus, intentions and projects, the absurdity of which, a child now-a-days can easily conceive.

In fine, since the 24th olympiad, that is to say, towards the year 684 before our era, there was no existence at Sparta of any thing like an equality of fortune amongst the citizens, of which, some were reduced to such a wretched state, as to raise a sedition to obtain

tain a new division of lands. And it is upon this occasion that the poet Tyrtæus composed a poem, entitled Eunomy, or good Legislation, which did not quiet the clamours of the discontent, as Pausanius pretends, who had need of something very different from an elegy.

It is not without reason, that objections have been made to some very superficial performances of Mr. de Mably, respecting the ancient Greeks, that there is neither truth nor probability in all that he says of Lycurgus, of the division of lands, of Sparta, and the Spartans.* This manner of writing on a subject not understood, far from throwing light upon the subject, envelopes all literary attempts in difficulties, by substituting chimeras for realities, and conjectures for facts.

We must judge of the nature of political governments by the effects they produce in all other places where they are established; and every where, that cities are seen successively to fall into poverty and ruin, we may be cer-

* *Examine Historique et Politique du Gouvernement de Lacédémone, en réponse aux doutes proposées, par Mr. de Mably, par Vauvilliers, p. 25.*

tain that the government is oppressive, and consequently unjust ; since, instead of creating it destroys, and is constantly seen to pass from one state of misery to another that is worse. The description of Laconia furnishes a striking example of all this : this country having for a long time been under the dominion of the Spartans of the Doric race, far from being so flourishing as when governed by ancient Achæians, presented the face only of an unhappy country, depopulated, embroiled with blood, and covered with the carcases from its cities.

Such will ever be the destiny of governments purely military : they rise suddenly by conquest, and fall as quickly in losing those conquests ; as it happened to Sparta, by a series of events which it will suffice only to exhibit, in order to dissipate all illusions, both ancient and modern, on this subject.

IV.

Of the causes of the Rise and Fall of Sparta.

THE general error of all those who have written the history of Greece, consists in a
wrong

wrong conception of the causes and effects : they always believed, and always affirmed, that the power of the Lacedemonians, was derived from the nature of their laws and their civil and military institutions and exercises only; whilst this power was derived from their increase of strength, which they acquired purely by the conquest of Messenia, and as soon as Epamindas had deprived them of this, by the battle of Leuctra, they were absolutely incapable of supporting themselves; and their annals from that time are an uninterrupted detail of defeats, calamities, and terrible overthrows.

Of all the authors of antiquity, Strabo was the best acquainted with the importance of Messenia, respecting the political balance of Greece ; where no province, as he says, could be put in comparison with it for good pastures, fertility of soil, and mildness of climate ; for the lofty mountains of Arcadia and Laconia, defended it against the cold north and north-east winds : in fine, the surface of this country, filled with cattle, crops, and vineyards, appeared like a vast farm, if we except some little districts of it, on the west side, between the points now called Capes Gallo and Navarino, where the soil
partakes

partakes of a sea sand, spread upon the shore by the frequent risings of the Mediterranean during earthquakes.

Messenia was in truth seperated from the Lacedemonian territory by a chain of mountains; but in this chain there were intervals and narrow ways by which they had communication with the neighbouring provinces, and the valley of Pellana was so accessible, that great armies passed through without possibility of hindrance to their march.

The richness and fertility of this beautiful part of Greece, so irritated the insatiable desires of the Lacedemonians, that they could not refrain from making incursions, sometimes with one pretence, at other times under another; till they came to an open and decided rupture in the year 744 before our era. This war was at last terminated by the conquest of Messenia, which contained near a hundred square leagues; this increased the Spartan domain to that degree, that it alone possessed more country in Greece, than Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, Megara, and Athens, put together. It is not therefore surprizing, that with such force, and such power, she so often dictated the law to little neighbouring

nations: those who were so blind as not to perceive this, have no reason to boast of their penetration, which really amounts to nothing at all.

All the events relative to the Messenian war are too well known to require a recapitulation; but at that time it was observed, that the Messenians, had a decided advantage over the Spartans in bravery and military knowledge, who would infallibly have been worsted, if they had not succeeded in corrupting with their money, Aristocrates king of the Arcadians, who till then had been in alliance with the inhabitants of Messenia: he abandoned them in the heat of a decisive engagement, by exposing the centre of their army.

It was by this infamous treason that the Lacedemonians bought the most shameful victory, that ever any Greeks gained over other Grecians.

The Arcadians, who were unacquainted with this villainous bargain till its effects had operated, condemned the king Aristocrates to death, stoned him with their own hands, exterminated his family, left his body

dy unburied, and erected a monument upon mount Lyceus, in the face of all Peleponnesus, that the remembrance of this frightful perfidy might remain to the latest posterity. No Lacedemonian could cast his eyes upon the inscription there engraved without blushing, and which two different authors have preserved, without any variation.*

Now let us see what were the dispositions and political arrangements that the conquerors made in Messenia after the conquest :

All the walled towns, except Mythone and Asine, were dismantled, and all the inhabitants who could not preserve themselves by flight, were reduced to slavery, though they were originally Dorians, and in some sort brothers of the Lacedemonians. They forced them, even with arms in their hands, to take an oath of fidelity; as if an oath could ever be the effect of violence, which destroys all mutual engagement, and every kind of obligation to fulfil it.

After this formality, they announced to the Messenians that the half of the product of

* Polybius Hist. Lib. 4. and Pausanias, Meseu.

C. 22.

their

their lands should every year be duly brought to Sparta, and that the cultivators, over and above what the soil required, should perform the same military service with the Helotes of Laconia, who in time of war furnished seven men, where the Spartans furnished but one.

To add to so many humiliations, a pomp yet more discouraging, they obliged the Messenians to come attired in mourning, to assist not only at the interments of their kings, but even at the funerals of the Lacedemonian Ephori.*

It is impossible to cite amongst any conquering people, without excepting Tartars, Moguls, Turks, and the Mandhuese of China, any example of such a yoke imposed on any conquered country whatever, either in Europe or Asia.

As long as Sparta, sovereign and despotic mistress, could at its will dispose of the combined force of Messenia, it was formidable to all the states of Peloponnesus, of which no one possessed, in any degree, the means of at-

* Collection des Fragmens de Tyrtee, par Mr. —

tack and defence comparable to theirs; as all politicians know, who are the least acquainted with the Grecian interests: so that the first step of Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, was, as we have said, to deprive the Lacedemonians of Messenia, who had ruled this province with a brazen sceptre, during a lapse of 296 years; and this was the precise term of their power. Before this conquest, they had been only a very weak people; and when they had lost it, they returned to the insignificance from which they had emerged.

Thus the marvellous that some have been desirous to find in their history, vanishes at the sight of criticism, and there, where one expected to see the force of discipline and the power of military institutions, there is nothing but a foreign and factitious force; that is to say, founded upon the acquisition of a hundred square leagues in space, of the most fertile land of Greece: and in a country so limited, a hundred leagues were a world. To this first resource they had the art to join many others, which it is necessary to know in detail; without which, we can form no exact idea of the genius and character of this people.

of

V.

Of the Riches of Lacedemon, and the Avarice of the Spartans.

IT is very certain, says Plato, that the city of Lacedemon contains, at this time, more gold and silver than exists in all Greece besides; and to make this evident, it suffices to point out the astonishing means they put in practice to accumulate these treasures, as ill employed, as they were ill acquired :

First, the Spartans doubled the ransom of prisoners of war, and exacted the sum of 200 drachmas of Egina for every man taken in arms: and it is upon the weight of this drachma, which was above that of Athens, that they regulated all the payments and operations of their finances.*

Nevertheless, in all the other Grecian states, where they had more humanity and moderation, the ransom of a simple soldier was only 100 attic drachmas; and this, says Aristotle,

* Herodotus, lib. 6. c. 79, the Drachma of Egina was worth 25 French Sous.

was the custom commonly received and followed.†

Thus the Lacedemonians demanded more than double what they paid to other military powers, and as they were continually waging war, the sale of their prisoners only brought in immense sums: without reckoning the booty they heaped together during their enterprizes, carried on by sea and land, in the three parts of the then known world.

They had commissaries for the special purpose of selling to the highest bidder the spoils collected during a campaign.‡

They had besides in their armies, three hundred inspectors, whose business was to watch the most favourable opportunity to fall upon the baggage; and these gave the signal for pillage, when they saw the enemy's troops in such disorder that there was little prospect of their return to the charge, to oppose the carrying off their baggage.§

† Ethiques, lib. 5. c. 10.

‡ Cragius de Repub. Laced. lib. p4. . 413.

§ Eustathe, sur l'Iliade. lib. 6.

Xenophon speaks in his *Hellenics* of a general devastation of the Elide, where, says he, Agis king of Lacedemon took such a prodigious number of slaves and cattle, that after the sale they made of them, all Peloponnesus was filled with them; and yet we have had occasion to remark, that the pillage of Attica yielded a more considerable booty to the Spartans than that of the Elide.

Independently of all the Lacedemonians could pillage sword in hand, they received every year the half of the revenues of Messenia; of which, a part was appropriated to the particular establishment of their kings. They received moreover, the contingent of the tributary cities of Laconia, of the isle of Cythera, and of places conquered in Thrace. In short, Herodotus and Thucydides speak of them as a people who made a continual use of gold and silver; and it was by these means, from the most remote antiquity, that they engaged the Arcadian Aristocrates in that blackest of treacheries.

When they were deliberating upon the operations of the Peloponnesian war, and the manner of attacking the republic of Athens with all possible vigour, the king Archidamus

damus declared, without reserve, in the midst of the Lacedemonian council, and in the presence of its allies, That money alone was the true nerve of war.* This is that axiom that the pretended politicians have since set above all other axioms ; and Machiavel, who had improved himself in studying the history of Sparta, says, in his commentaries upon Livy, that except in some particular instances, there is nothing can be brought to bear against this great principle, displayed in so few words by the genius of the Lacedemonians, who failed not to take the tenth part of all the spoils they found in the Persian camp, after the battle of Platea ; which consisted of precious metals, and jewels with which they have always ornamented, scymetars, poniards, and their horse-harness.

The Spartan Pausanias, who in this battle commanded the troops of his country, soon tarnished his name and memory, in selling himself and the safety of all Greece to the emperor Xerxes ; for the price of this criminal cowardice, this prince paid to such a traitor the prodigious sum of five hundred

* Discours du Roi Archidame.—Thucydides, lib. 1.

talents of gold, which he carried to Lacedæmon ; where, not only the riches of the Greeks, says Plato, but even that of the Barbarians, were successively swallowed up, by means the most extraordinary that were ever heard of amongst men.*

As soon as the Persians had been driven from the European continent, Sparta assumed an hauteur which alarmed many small republics ; but nothing appeared to them more insupportable, than the insolent inscriptions put upon their trophies, where they did not deign to mention the auxiliary nations, who had the most distinguished themselves by their valour, in repelling the common enemy. The inhabitants of the city Platea, who thought that their honour was essentially brought into question by this injurious silence, cited the Lacedæmonians before the tribunal of the states general of Greece, entered an action against them, and got a thousand talents damages, or four millions and a half of French livres.†

* Chrysum. Hist. de Perse, cite par Stobee, c. 37. Plutarch comparison of the Greeks and Romans, and Nepos' Life of Pausanias.

† Demosthenes contra Neera, p. 1377.

This notable step of the Plateans, sufficiently proves the error of those who imagine that the Lacedemonians had at that time no other money than wedges of iron; the contrary of which has been shown by the spoils of the Persians, which they carried off. Besides, it would have been not only absurd but ridiculous, to condemn them to pay a fine of four millions and a half, if they had not the means.

It is easy to conceive, that without a currency equal and equivalent to that which was in circulation, no people in Greece could have subsisted in the Amphiçtyonic confederation; every kind of commerce and political connection with such men, must have ceased. In short, the Spartans were to furnish their contingent in silver or gold to the common treasury in the isle of Delos, and to the particular treasury of the Amphyctions, kept in Apollo's temple at Delphos. If they had been desirous of depositing their iron ingots in that bank, they would have been excluded the general association; nor could they have ever had auxiliary troops in their pay. At the time of the 9th olympiad, they had a body of Cretan archers in their pay;

pay ; which, during the Messenian war, they opposed to the enemy's light troops.*

Mr. Pelerin, to whom we are indebted for a most voluminous and instructing work, relative to the medals of the Grecian cities, has there renewed some ancient prejudices, or rather palpable errors : in supposing that Lyfander was the first that introduced the use of gold and silver at Lacedemon ; notwithstanding the multiplied proofs we have cited, shew, incontestibly, that many ages before Lyfander's birth, all sorts of money, of all sorts of metal, struck in Europe and Asia, had currency amongst the Spartans ; and there is no fact in all ancient history, which is better attested than that.

We know from Mr. Pelerin's own confession, and from all those who have written on Greek Numismatics, of a great number of medals in brass and silver fabricated at Sparta ; and if the gold of this city is not so well known, there is no wonder, since the gold coin of the Athenians is extremely rare ; and the reason we have alledged in the article of the finances of this people, is such, that it

* Pausanias, Messeniacques, c. 8.

will

will satisfy those who will take the pains to think upon it attentively.

All that has been said of the weight of the Lacedemonian money, betrays an ignorance in the writers who have looked at this phenomenon as a fact unique and without example; since the Romans have had a brazen money-still more weighty, which in their tongue was called *Æs grave*. Livy affirms, that a cart was to be employed to carry a moderate sum, before gold and silver had been coined in Rome. Such was also the case of the Lacedemonians in the most remote antiquity, at a time when iron was more dear or precious amongst the inhabitants of the Peloponnesus than brass.

As for the rest it is indifferent, and indeed very indifferent, respecting the desires of mankind, whether one metal or another is employed to represent the value of things bought and sold; for whatever may be the essence or nature of the objects that avarice wishes to accumulate, its thirst is neither less violent nor less deadly.

As the heavy money of the ancient Romans changed nothing in the ordinary course
of

of human-passions amongst them, neither did that of the Lacedemonians.

Mr. de Gourcy has argued on all these matters without knowing the state of the question. In his memoir, crowned at Paris, he has confounded all the facts, and he has moreover confounded all the epochas; since it was easy to discover, that at the time of Lycurgus, there were neither gold or silver coined in any part of Greece; from whence it follows, that there could be no laws made to proscribe customs which did not exist, and which no one could foresee, ever would exist.*

In every case where it is scandalous to give money, and in all cases where it is shameful to receive, the Lacedemonians did both always. Pausanias does not scruple to acknowledge that they were the first Greeks who rendered victory venal. It was thus they finished the Messenian war, and in the same manner they terminated the Peloponnesian war.

* Mr. Heyne observes, in his commentaries on the Epochs of Castor, that the origin of coins amongst the Greeks went no higher than forty years before the olympiads, or near a century after the death of Lycurgus.

The great advantages which they then reaped, says Cornelius Nepos, ought not to be attributed to the courage of their soldiers, nor to the open force of their arms, but to means invisible to the eyes of an historian;† that signifies, in other terms, that the Spartan Lysander, the most impudent corrupter that had ever appeared in Greece, found means to corrupt the Athenian admirals with money, who sold their fleet to him at Egospotamos, by a perfidy as execrable, as that of the Arcadian Aristocrates, who sold the conquest of Messenia.

The five great annual magistrates, which at Lacedemon they called Ephori, are, says Aristotle, men of the most venal souls, and destitute of all sense of honour.‡ Notwithstanding all the transgressions and crimes that avarice made them commit are not known to posterity, there are many mysteries buried between the Eurotas and Mount Taygetus : but a mystery that it was not possible to hide, is that which Alexander uncovered to the face of the universe, in his manifesto against

† Life of Lysander.

‡ By the epithet *oniol*, he describes the ephori, which signifies in Greek the same as venal.

the

the Emperor Darius: "*You have sent into Greece, says he to him, emissaries loaded with gold and silver, in order to raise up enemies every where to the Macedonian court; but not a state in Greece would accept your money, the Lacedemonians alone excepted.*"

The politicians of antiquity had reason to insist, that never any court of Asia conducted itself upon such absurd and contradictory principles as the Persian court. It absolutely lost all the sums given to the Lacedemonians, who never made any return but ingratitude. It is positively known, that they received from the hands of the Persians, more than 5000 talents, that is to say, more than 22 millions of livres Tournois, during the Peloponnesian war;§ and in spite of this superb subsidy, they turned their arms against Persia as soon as they had conquered the Athenians, who yielded less to the impulse of open force, than to the effect of different operations on their finance. For Lyfander, who at that time disposed as he pleased of the riches of young Cyrus, bethought him of doubling the pay of the seamen and ma-

§ Arrien, d'Alexandre, p. 122. Edit. Blapchard.

rines ; so that Athens was obliged to raise the appointments of their crews to the same standard, in order to keep them in the service ; which completely emptied their treasury, because the war cost then as much again as formerly, and the military pay, which had been fixed at three oboles, was raised to a drachma, or fifteen French sous a day. If at this time there existed any prince in Europe rich enough to promise the soldiers double the pay they received elsewhere, one of two things must necessarily happen ; either the greater part of the armies would desert, or the greater part of the states be ruined by the greatness of the pay : but that which no person is now capable of trying, the Lacedemonians executed with success, more than 2000 years ago.

As national avarice is subject to the same symptoms, and follows the same progress as individual avarice, which increases with age ; so Sparta became by time more covetous, more deaf to glory, and more blind to the nature of the means ; and during the Holy War she was manifestly an accomplice with

* Isocrate, Oraison, p. 295.

the sacrilegious who then pillaged the temple of Apollo, and had a great part of the silver plundered from the treasury at Delphos.* This infamy, accompanied by many others equally crying, at length brought on the degradation of Sparta; which was declared incapable of sending deputies to the assembly of the states general, and its name was for ever struck off from the list of the nations associated for the forming the Amphytrionic confederation.

The Greeks generally described the Lacedemonians by the term of *Aischrocerdeis*, that is to say, men greedy of fordid gain; who observed amongst themselves as little respect in the discussions of interest, as they observed it in regard to foreign nations. The disorder, says Aristotle, which now reigns in the administration of their finances, is derived from the subtleties they contrived, to avoid placing in the public treasury the sums that were due.† As the power of imprisonment was lodged in the five ephori only, one may easily conceive, that these magistrates, whose

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16. c. 23.

† Politiques, lib. 2. et Enenkel commentaire sur Thucydide, p. 492.

venality was notorious, were ever ready to be corrupted by the great proprietors, who put their possessions out of the reach of the public taxes; the load of which crushed the lower orders, who, in the end, were reduced to complete beggary. And Plutarch affirms, that, under the last Agis, there were no more than one hundred Lacedemonian citizens who had landed estates; the others possessed absolutely nothing they could call their own, and had, over and above their evident misery, enormous debts.*

It is easy to recognize, in this connection of political abuses, the disorder which was so evident in the middle of Europe during the feudal system; when the great vassals would neither do the military service, nor pay the imposts established to supply it, under pretext, that the estates of the noblesse were exempt: but by the rigorous law of Charlemagne against them, the sovereign authority at that time, was far from acknowledging such exemption, in any province of the empire of the Franks; and, what is yet more surprizing in this respect, is, that the wisest and most useful law made in those dark ages,

* Life of Agis and Cleomenes.

is precisely that which was the most eluded in more enlightened times.*

When they divided the Laconian lands amongst the conquerors who came from the Doride, they obliged the land owners to serve with a certain number of Serfs or Helotes ; but when, in the course of time, the women on one side, and the great proprietors on the other, had re-united, into one and the same mass, a hundred different portions, the state was at once deprived of military service and of taxes ; in such a manner, that all the subsidies fell upon the Laconian tributaries, whose condition became so deplorable, that they never ceased to make great efforts to shake off the Lacedemonian yoke : and this dissolution of the political body is an event, that we shall soon see brought about under the reign of Nabis.

Many authors have spoken of what they call the law of the Ephor Epirades ; the letter of which they criticised without ever understanding the spirit. We have already observed, that the estates occupied by the Spartans, were, in their origin, like our fiefs ; that is to say, they were indivisible and unalienable ; they passed from the father to the eldest son

* Georgisch, Loix de Charlemagne, p. 1134.

exclusively,

which reduced the younger branches to indigence : and as Epitades saw all the others threatened with the same lot, he thought it right to come to their succour, by permitting parents to dispose of their effects among their children, by deed of gift or will.

By that he diminished the rigour of the right of primogeniture, which being founded on so blind a cause as chance, in the order of birth, appeared contrary to every notion of natural justice. This Ephor of Sparta, consequently, did nothing contrary to the interest of every citizen ; and it was not his fault, if afterwards they abused his law in such a manner, as to heap on the heads of the women more than half the lands of Laconia. There was in the institutions of this state so many vices, that if they succeeded in correcting one, a hundred others sprung even from the improvement.

VI.

Observations on the Military Exploits of the Spartans.

BY a general enumeration of all the battles,
more

more or less decisive, that were fought by this people, it is found that it lost as many as it gained in a series of many ages; without reckoning some accidental routs, through panic, terror, or by the perfidy of their generals; as when the Arcadian women put the whole Lacedemonian phalanx to flight, at the foot of mount Philactra, and when the women of Argos repulsed their whole army. To preserve the memory of an event so singular, they instituted a solemn feast and public games, which they annually celebrated under the name of Telefillea: for this heroine, who then flew to arms, and persuaded the other Argian women, her companions, was the immortal Telefillea. Inspired at the same time by the god of war and by the god poetry, she composed some beautiful verses, and carried consternation into the Spartan camp; who, to wash out the stain of so great an affront, said, that their king Cleomenes had suffered himself to be corrupted by money, that he might not attack the city of Argos with vigour. These sort of accusations were so frequent at Lacedemon, that the greater part of their kings were suspected, and very often convicted, of being engaged in pecuniary negotiations, unknown to the army.

my. They surprized Leotychides, one of the Spartan sovereigns, in the instant even, that he received the gold of the Theſſalians to make a precipitate retreat ; and it was alſo by ſuch means, that Pericles made them evacuate Attica, fourteen years before the Peloponneſian war, by corrupting king Pliftonax, ſon of Pausanias.*

When the Grecian writers, guided by their enthufiaſm and national vanity, indulged themſelves in the moſt outrageous exaggerations, they never ſuſpected that poſterity would diſcover ſuch an art as hiſtorical criticism, which ſhould know how to tear away the veil of fiction, and expoſe the truth. And by this method we can eaſily appreciate the juſt value of the exploit of the three hundred Spartans againſt the Perſians at Themopylæ. At firſt ſight, it is impoſſible that ſuch a battle could be fought, as the hiſtorians have deſcribed ; for at that time the ſtrait was exactly ſhut up by a very high and thick wall, which ſtretched from the foot of the mountain to the ſea ſhore. The Lacedemonians placed to the ſouth of this rampart, far from

* Herodotus, lib. 6. Thucydides, lib. 2 and Meurtius, vide art. of Leotychides and Pliftonax.

being

being able to begin an attack, could not even discover the enemy; the height of the fortification absolutely prevented their view of the north side. The position that they had taken is contrary to the rules of war then practised; for a detached body which passed by the paths on mount Oëta, would straiten them to such a point, that it would be impossible to retreat; they were on one side stopt by the wall of Thermopylæ, and on the other by the enemy. Titus Livius observes, therefore, very judiciously, that their death was more memorable than their battle;* in effect, all the exploit is reduced to the massacre of some men, lost in a manner, useless to the state, and to the rest of Greece.

Nevertheless, this fault we have noticed, was again committed in the same place by king Antiochus, whom the Romans defeated in the most terrible manner. This prince had equally inclosed the straits of Thermopylæ, by an impregnable wall, without thinking

† Morte magis, quam pugna memorabili. Herodotus says, that the wall of Thermopylæ was constructed to prevent the incursions of the Theffalian cavalry; and that new works were added on the approach of the Persians.

of the other defiles by which Cato passed, following the same route which the Persians had, to exterminate Leonidas. It was without doubt a great imprudence on the part of the Lacedemonians as well as in Antiochus, to be engaged in a place, shut up by the nature of the ground, without having sufficiently fortified the other passages by which they could fall upon their flank and rear, as experience has twice manifested.

When we combine the lights of geography with those of history, to elucidate the circumstances of an event like this, it then departs from the class of the marvellous, where the Greeks had placed it, to enter again into the order of things natural and common.

Plato, who had had the misfortune to be a prisoner of the Mediterranean pirates, who sold him like a beast of burden to the best bidder, entertained a great dread of the sea during life. He speaks of naval victories with sovereign contempt; and places the battle of Salamine much below that of Platea. Nevertheless, he affirms that the Lacedemonians were so much embarrassed and put to flight, that if the Athenian troops had not

maintained the fight, they never would have rallied to return to the charge, nor did they return till the greatest danger was over; so that they were generally enough accused of being of the character of some individuals that the Greeks called *Thrasydiles*. This term, composed of two opposite significations, was contrived by the grammarians to describe those who are very timid in manifest danger, and very brave in ambush, or stratagem. Aristotle observes in his ethics, that the portrait of Ulysses, such as the author of the *Odyssy* has drawn it, is the true model of the *Thrasydiles*; but the greatest of all were at Lacedmon, where the generals who had conquered the enemy by open force, could sacrifice, after the victory, a cock only; and those who had triumphed by fraud or trick of war, sacrificed a bull.*

The poet Tyrtæus, who well knew the genius of the Spartans, took all imaginable pains to inspire them with what is called true courage, and not that timid audacity of Ulysses, and men who resemble him. But on the other hand, the lessons of Tyrtæus dege-

* Plato in the Dialogue concerning Courage, and Plutarch in his Laconic Institutions.

nerated into precepts more proper for wild beasts than to form heroes : he speaks only of grinding the teeth, effectual thrusts of the lance, a deluge of blood, and a thousand deaths, rather than retreat one pace.* We tremble in reading such bloody poems, which were absolutely useless amongst a people like the Athenians, whose courage far from wanting inflammation, was difficultly restrained: and Pericles said of them that, they wanted only a bridle.

As the Lacedemonians constantly made war in a mountainous country filled with ravines, they had acquired great experience in the art of encampments, marches, and dressing ambuscades ; but they were too ignorant in the sciences and mathematics to be able to invent, or perfect any machines proper for the attack of places ; and their best officers did not conduct the operations of any siege according to the rules. It was prohibited by a positive law, they said, ever to march up to an assault ; but the truth is, that they never knew how to make a breach.

* Look above all at the poems of Tyrtaeus cited by the orator Lycurgus, and Stobæus.

They

They blockaded for two years the little town of Platea, on the confines of Attica; they blockaded the Messenians for eleven years on Mount Ira, and afterwards, for ten years more, on mount Ithome. These facts, which cannot be called in question, may help much to diminish the absurdities, we believe, that we discover in the operations and delay in the siege of Troy; which was, properly speaking, a blockade, sustained by skirmishes and duels, rather than by battles. But if at this day we pardon the excessive ignorance of the heroes of the Iliad in favour of the remote times in which they lived, it is impossible to have the same indulgence for the Spartans; who, in neglecting the culture of the arts and sciences, failed at least in the great end they had in view, that is to say, to be a truly military people; for as they understood nothing of attack and defence, we may refuse them this title on many accounts. Accustomed from their infancy to the management of small arms, they knew very well the most common evolutions and lesser manœuvres of the phalanx; but the great principles of this very complicated arrangement had escaped their sagacity; and the most convincing proof

proof that can possibly be cited, is, that they never fought a ranged battle against the Macedonians without being totally defeated, by Antipater, by Antigonus, by Pyrrhus, and by Philip the son of Demetrius; from whence we may with certainty infer, that the Macedonian phalanx was without comparison superior to theirs.

Moreover, it cannot be believed that Lacedæmonia has always had generals equally intelligent; they are often seen to proceed against the first rules of art, as Cleombrotus did at Leuctra, where he drew up his men twelve deep, though he had been informed that the Thebans were drawn up fifty deep in the centre, from whence an impression must necessarily result, that a disposition, which was only a fourth part as strong, could not resist. To this first fault Cleombrotus added another in beginning the battle with his cavalry, which was known to all Greece to be very indifferent, the defeat of which discouraged all his infantry.*

We shall finish this article with some observations relative to the Laconic *costume*, or

* Xenophon, Helleniques, lib. 6.

dress,

dress, and the Spartan armour which may be discovered amongst the European and Asiatic Greeks, by the manner in which they are cloathed and cover their heads. They wore their hair at its full length, but divided into two or three tresses which flowed upon their shoulders, whilst very thick whiskers hung upon their bosom; so that in one respect they resemble the Tartars, in the other the ancient Suevi. Instead of the long robe of the Athenians, they covered their jacket with a very short cloak, called *tribon*; it was of red in time of war, but so dirty and ragged, that Aristotle called it "the cloak of pride:" but since the tyrant Nabis introduced a new form of government, and dissipated the shadow of civil liberty, the Lacedemonians began to be distinguished by the luxury of their cloaths, which always follows the progression of slavery, and then their presumption changed into baseness.*

King Cleomenes thought that the Laconic phalanx had been always inferior to that of Macedonia by the defect of its armour, which he reformed in all its branches, from the

* Clement. d'Alextandria, Pædag. l. 3. c. 2.

sword to the buckler. Formerly the weapon most in use at Sparta, was the half-pike or javelin, that might be managed with one hand ; and it is principally by this emblem that they characterized the capital of Laconia, which was furnamed *Dory-stephanos*, as much as to say, crowned with javelins. However terrible this weapon was, when in the hands of the most dexterous, it could not however be appropriated to all the manœuvres of the phalanx : for when this body was ranged to fight in deep and close order, then these short pikes became intirely usefess to the center files ; whilst the Macedonians made use of lances, or *sarissæ*, which were even to sixteen cubits, or twenty-four Greek feet in length, and which pushed with strength, became a kind of battering-rams, and overset every thing that presented itself.*

It was this long *sarissa* that Cleomenes substituted for the ancient weapon of the Lacedæmonian troops ; but experience demonstrated how very dangerous it is, suddenly to change the tactics of a nation, to make it adopt those of another : this exacts more

* Elien, *Tactiques*, c. 14. Polyen, *Stratag.* lib. 2. Article Cleomenes.

combinations and expedients, than that rash pretended reformer was susceptible of.

The Spartans, accustomed from time immemorial to short weapons, could not acquire the art of managing the sarissa, which the soldier ought to hold with both hands, and oftentimes ask assistance from the file immediately behind him. In short, at the battle of Selafia, where Cleomenes tried this new method, he was intirely defeated: the massacre was so terrible, the disorder so complete, and the route so general, that they could not rally a body of infantry or cavalry: every thing was overfet; all was lost: floods of blood ran from the heights of Selafia, even to the beds of Eurotas and of the Oconon. Thus finished this people, who had never known any other trade than that of war, and were buried in the horrible gulph they had themselves prepared.

VII.

Of the Empire of the Sea.

IN speaking of the maritime commerce of the Greeks in general, we have had occasion
to

to observe, that all the people of this part of the world, who were desirous to arrogate to themselves the empire of the sea, were successively drawn into such great and multiplied disasters, that they never could get the better of them; but no nation in this perilous career, had so terrible a crush as the Spartans. They appear in the rank of those who pretend to exercise an absolute despotism over the whole surface of the Mediterranean. It was Alcibiades, who, by an insidious policy, conducted them to their ruin, under pretence of making their fortunes. When he was at Sparta, he advised the kings, the ephori, and all the people in general, to keep constantly increasing their navy, in order to be in a state to make all strike their colours at the sight of theirs, and in fine, to become the true *Thalassocratores*, or governors exclusively, of all the Grecian seas.*

Alcibiades could not give counsel to such men, which was really more destructive; for the Spartans were very sufficiently hated before,

* Isocrates, Harangue to Philip of Macedon, p. 180. Before the arrival of Alcibiades the Spartans had a marine force, but they augmented it daily after that.

because of their desires to reign on the continent ; but they detested them much more when they shew their inclinations to play the tyrants at sea. Besides, by their application to ship-building and rowing, they neglected the care of their cavalry, which Xenophon confesses was on a bad plan, and mostly composed of horses bred from old stock, worn down by the olympic races, and such like contests.

Though there is no relation between the military marine in our days, and such as it was amongst the Greeks, it, nevertheless, at that time, was attended with very considerable expences, with regard to the finances of the lesser republics ; and Demosthenes affirms, that, with the most rigorous economy, there was no keeping up ten light vessels at less than forty talents, or 180,000 livres* a year.† From that one may infer, that the equipping great gallies, proper to fight in the line of battle, cost as much more ; so that by an ill-judged speculation, the Lacedemonians thought to be able to save the expence of the cavalry, that it might go to the navy.

* 72,000l sterling.

† Demosthenes, Philipic 1. p. 47.

Isocrates

Isocrates pretends that the decisive battle they lost at Leuctra by land, was a necessary consequence of that they lost at sea, upon the coast of Gnidus; where the Athenian Conon totally destroyed their fleet, and all their naval forces. Indeed there is no doubting but these two events have a natural connection; for when the Thebans learnt that Sparta had lost the empire of the sea, they dared to advance their hopes, and their courage was increased. When a state has received a great check, it is always very probable that it will receive another; because the first weakness brings on another. It is always in the nature of fright to go on augmenting, and the victory of Conon had put the Spartan republic into a singular consternation.

We pardon the Athenians directing all their genius and all their force to have a navy, because they inhabited a sterile country, which could not maintain itself without a maritime commerce and the importation of foreign corn, which made navigation absolutely necessary; and we must look at all Plato says to disprove it, as illusions. But these considerations, which really existed with respect to Athens, could never apply to Sparta, at least

least as long as it was in a state to preserve the important conquest of Messenia, whose lands were sufficient to feed the nation, without any supply of foreign grain.

Some authors have pretended that Lycurgus had positively prohibited the Spartans from ship-building, or keeping up a body of seamen ;* but it is not likely that any person ever thought of making such laws in a country like Laconia, which had at least fifty maritime cities, which would have become frightful deserts if they had been deprived of fishing, and commerce with Asia, Africa, and Sicily.

The Greeks had such a passion for traffic, voyages, and expeditions, that even in the most remote times, they were seen occupied as the islanders of the south sea in our days ; constructing canoes, and hollowing trees, to pass continually from the islands of the Archipelago to the continent, as merchants, pirates or adventurers. As soon as they knew how to adapt a small sail to a little mast, they

* Cragius, de Repub. Laced. lib. 3. c. 4.

were

were heard to talk of the empire of the sea. The Cretans, say they, were the first who had dominion at sea, and they lost it so completely, that they could not protect their own coasts, which they were obliged to abandon, to unite the utmost force that remained to save the best situated, which were on the point of becoming the prey of the enemy. We have already observed, that there is no people who have more enemies than those who wish to reign in an exclusive manner over the sea.*

Independently of these considerations, the pretended law of Lycurgus, relative to the marine, is contradicted by an infinity of facts; for we find the Spartans had always vessels of war, and in the time of Ctesias they landed their troops on the island of Samos, where they had been attracted by a pure spirit of pillage. It is a report generally spread, says Herodotus, that the tyrant Polycrates engaged them to make a precipitate retreat, in telling out to them great sums of money that seemed to be of good alloy, but when the Spartan assayers examined it, they found it consisted of leaden or pewter counters, cover-

* Pausanias, Laconiques, c. 2.

ed with gold leaf, like the counterfeit medals seen in the cabinets of antiquarians. This expedition was worthy of the Spartans, and the trick was worthy of such a tyrant as Poly-crates.

CONSIDERATIONS
CONCERNING
THE MANNERS
OF THE
LACEDEMONIANS.

I.

Of the Spartan Women.

AMONGST a military people the women's manners must necessarily be very corrupted ; and it is this cause above all, that accelerates the downfall of all those societies founded on force and violence. It is sufficient to consider the degraded state of soldiers wives at this day, to conceive that nature has attached terrible chastisements to this state, which opposes her views, and, much more, all ideas of reason. It is a great incon-

inconsistency, said one, to the Spartans, "for you to marry to day, and go to morrow to a battle, or a blockade of ten years like that of Troy;" from which all the Greeks who returned, found their families ruined by sponging flatterers, or plunged in the greatest disorder by the incontinence of their wives, who under pretext of having lost their husbands at Troy, re-married every day.

What is yet much more surprizing is, that, amongst a military people, the women should be more timid and cowardly than among pacific nations. When we read what the Greeks have written concerning the Spartan virgins, who according to them fought naked amongst the men in the Gymnastic schools, and on the banks of the Eurotas, one is naturally tempted to conclude, that by such rough exercises, they acquired a great firmness of soul, and a courage almost heroic; but the truth is that never, amongst any people in the world, were seen women more timid and pusillanimous than at Sparta. They could not, says Xenophon, support the sight of the smoke which rose above some houses in the country, to which the fore-runners of the army of Epaminondas had set fire after the battle of Leuctra;

Leuctra: but when Epaminondas himself approached, with the rest of the forces, then the women were struck with such fright and deadly terror, that their cries threw the whole city into a confusion without example; the soldiers could no more hear the voice of their officers, and it was absolutely impossible to make a free passage in the streets and public places, through the croud of people wandering in fear and consternation, without knowing from whence they came or whither they were going. In short, on that day, says Aristotle, the Spartan women put the city in the greatest danger, and it barely escaped falling into the hands of the enemy.*

It is very useless then that they should have exercised themselves in boxing, as is pretended, if the shadow even of courage deserted them in the instant when it was necessary to show some resignation to such urgent fate; as the women of Carthage and of so many other cities have done, when pressed by the enemy and on the point of being taken by assault or consumed by the flames.

* Xenophon Helleniques, lib. 4. Aristot. Politic. lib. 2. Plut. Life of Agefilans.

Philarchus and Hieronymus of Cardia, both of very little credit among the ancients, on account of their falsehood and their malice against the memory of Pyrrhus, have endeavoured to tarnish the name of this prince ; in maintaining that he was repulsed by the Spartan virgins when he came before the capital of Laconia : but the truth is, that, in the time of Philip, this city was fortified with ramparts, towers, and ditches, that bade defiance to a *coupe de main*, and which it would have been imprudent to attempt.

Further, of all the writers who have spoken of the nakedness of the Spartan virgins in the gymnastic exercises, no one had been a witness of it ; and this fact appears so little credible, that it is necessary to explain it in some way or other.

At Athens they said a man was naked when he threw off his cloak, though he had then his jacket on. This way of speaking was very generally used amongst the Greeks, and probably they said at Sparta, that a woman appeared naked when she had only her robe on, without wearing the veil, or *peplos*, which made so essential a part of the dress of the sex of

of Greece; where the ladies of any consideration were always covered when they appeared abroad, whether at Argos, Athens, or Thebes; whilst the Spartan virgins undertook races, games, and dances, along the Eurotas, without being veiled, during the excessive heats they experienced at the foot of Mount Taygetus; so that then a part of their breast, as well as their arms and knees, remained uncovered. But there is a great distance in this from absolute nudity; such as Propertius has fancied in his elegy, and Plutarch in his romance, which they call the life of Lycurgus.

In a country so uneven as Laconia, where at every instant it was necessary to ascend and descend among thick woods or sharp rocks, long training garments could not but be very inconvenient: and it is not surprizing, that women who partook of hunting, had, amidst a military people, adopted cloaths very immodest in the eyes of the other Greek nations, accustomed to the flowing drapery of the peplos.

It is impossible to form a more exact idea of the dress of the Spartan virgins, than by examining some antique statues of Atalanta and
Diana,

Diana, where it is easy to observe, that this garment, appropriated to the customs of a mountainous district, was in no wise flattering to the shape; for the folds of the tunick, which fell on the haunches, made those parts appear enormous;* and this is the reason why the women of the island of Melos, whom we know are dressed after this sort, shock the eyes of strangers when they first see them. Nevertheless, there is no applying the epithet of *phenomerides* to the Melians, as they did to the Spartans, because they had the upper part of the knee uncovered.

It is very probable that in Laconia there formerly existed a great difference between the women of the Achaian race, who inhabited the cities, and the women of the Doric race, who ran about the country, who hunted the game with bows and arrows of the same size as the Cretan; for in this country, stretched out beyond the 37th degree of latitude, the climate has a sensible influence on the complexion of the inhabitants, as is seen at this day, by the example of the Mainotes, whom they call *Cacovougnis*, or villains

* Philostrates, Icon. p. 868; and Callimachus, Hymn to Diana, v. 16, and others.

of the mountains ; exposed to the impressions of the air upon the elevated rocks of Cape Tenarus, they appear very swarthy with respect to the Turkish families, who dwell in the neighbourhood of Mifitra, in shady habitations.

In ancient times the Greeks recriminated upon each other, that they had never been able to reduce the institutions relative to the sex, into exact order and discipline. This was the stumbling block of all their legislators ; and all were here wrecked, more or less signally : notwithstanding, the people, says Aristotle, who know not how to govern their women, from that moment lose precisely the half of their happiness.* But according to him, no nation in the then known world, had, in this respect, customs more vicious than the Lacedemonians ; to whom a disaster happened, which but too well proves that amongst them, the loss of manners was of very ancient date.

From the time of the first Messenian war, the greater part of the Spartan virgins arrived at the state of maternity without marriage or husbands. And in the midst of the state, there appeared a whole people, whose fathers were
unknown ;

* Rhetoric, b. 1. c. 5. Polit. b. 2. c. 7.

unknown ; and it was those infants of the earth, that they afterwards named *Parthenies* ; a term by which the Greek particularly described those born of one in a virgin state. Strabo and Justin indeed, accuse the Spartans of being accomplices in this depravity ; and it was, say they, with that design, that they then sent some of the most vigorous of the army, to debauch the Spartan young women : but the recital of these writers contain a manifest contradiction, and it is certainly not true, that they had recourse to means so excessive, to increase the population in time of war ; since the *Parthenies*, whom no one would acknowledge as their children, nor the state ever acknowledge as citizens, were obliged to expatriate, and go to found a colony at Tarentum, towards the year 707 before our era.*

The Tarentines, who were the issue of this illegitimate race, fell since into as great a dissoluteness as that of Sparta ; that is to say, that they governed their families with the same negligence as the Spartans governed their wives. Cornelius Nepos pretends, that

* Collection des Dissertations Academiques de Mr. Heyne, tom. 2. p. 217.

among

among them, the widows of the best fashion dared to mount the stage for hire, and there represent such indelicate farces, and in the same attitudes as the Spartan virgins formed their dancing chorusses, under the planes of Amycles. In any other respect there was no shadow of taste at Sparta, as to theatrical representations; and Plutarch affirms, that there never was one regular tragedy or comedy performed there. The diversions of this kind were confined to mimicks or opera buffoons, where they imitated the manner and language of the mountebanks, sharpers, robbers of fruit, and all that can be imagined to belong to the low and vulgar people.*

It is possible that the Lacedemonian women, as little scrupulous as the men touching the means of acquiring, undertook those parts of the drama, the acting of which required no study; for Athenæus affirms, that they consisted of trivial dialogue, without consequence or connection, like the Italian farces; and they properly called this mimick class of actors, which is the last of classes, *Dicelistes*: but a people so little instructed, and so coarse

* Meursius. Miscel. Laconica, lib. 3. c. 6.

as the Lacedemonians, was not disposed to admit a theatre more chaste, ingenious, or regular.

Some modern criticks, who have not been able to combine their ideas with the assertions of Cornelius Nepos, pretend, that his text has been altered, that it does not concern any part of the comic scene, but particular repasts given by the citizens of small note, who, in order to give a lustre to their feasts, engaged the matrons and the most illustrious widow ladies to come for money, to honour the meetings by their presence :* but even if this singular opinion was exactly proved, it would follow yet, that a custom so sordid shocks all notions of the hospitality and freedom which is seen every where else on such occasions, by reducing all the guests to the same level ; and it is by the remains of barbarism, that many European people yet preserve a Gothic ceremony in the midst of their repasts.

* These critics read the text of Cornelius Nepos in this manner : *Nulla Lacedæmoni tam nobilis vidua est, quæ non ad cœnam eat mercede conducta.* They have discovered another lesson in an ancient manuscript, which seems of no great authority.

Aristotle

Aristotle, who was much less enthusiastic than any other Greek, and who knew the essential vices of the Spartans better than any other politician, says, that the military expeditions drew after them incredible disorders, during the absence of the army, in the interior parts of the families committed to the discretion of the women. But this evil, as old as the state, became yet much more deadly when Sparta took upon her the empire of the sea, and to undertake wars on the continents of Asia and Africa; which prevented the citizens to revisit their firesides during a lapse of some years: afterwards they returned like the heroes of the Iliad, whose magnificent trophies never consoled them for the ruin of their domestic concerns.

As the queens of Sparta knew how to erect a thousand altars of Venus in the city of Mars, without the knowledge of the ephori, who watched them strictly; it is easy to judge, what importance the women of the lower orders attached to that connection, they so improperly called, the conjugal union.

One may reduce to two general causes, all

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the particular causes of the excessive dissoluteness of the Spartan women.

In the first place, they received no education that was proper for the single or married state ; so that the mothers could not teach their posterity manners and regards, which they had never known themselves.

All the passions triumphed over their minds without control ; which were neither tinged with that decorum which modesty inspires, nor by the moderation which prudence suggests : so they were universally described in Greece by the epithet of *Andromanes*, because that love, which is of itself a terrible passion, degenerated, in their burning breasts, into a madness ; that is to say, into the last term of human weaknesses.

The Lacedemonians, who were without dispute the most ignorant in natural causes and effects, some times employed mountebanks, or foreign empirics, either by remedies or by expiatory sacrifices, to calm the transports of their own wives ; and had the simplicity to believe that the impostor Bacis succeeded

succeeded once at least in a cure, in all respects so difficult.*

The Greek women in general were exposed, by the causes already indicated,† to perturbations astonishing to the human mind. I dare own in the face of the world, says Galen, that I conceived a mortal hatred for my own mother; for she was, adds he, so violent and terrible, that, in the height of her fury, she would bite her slaves like a wild beast, till the blood streamed from her mouth: notwithstanding, Galen's mother belonged to a Grecian family of distinction, and had at least an education, whilst the Lacedemonians received none; for one cannot give such a name to such a reprobate exercise as wrestling, nor to the barbarous one of hunting, which even hardens the heart of man. This employment which is absolutely proper for butchers, to whom it is indifferent to cut the throats of calves, or deer in the forest of Enoras at the foot of Mount Taygetus, which, during all the time of the Bacchanalians, re-echoed with the

* Suidas, word Bakis.

† Former part of the book.

shouts and cries of the virgins and Menades.

Plutarch pretends, that the women of this part of the Peloponnesus, were sometimes the victims of the illegitimate flame which Sappho felt. She has herself described the symptoms of this terrible evil in her poems, that may be looked at, as the greatest anxiety that could disturb the female breast, amongst the Grecian women. It is possible that an imperfect organization might have been the first cause of a passion like this; but we cannot doubt but that the immoderate use of the wines of Laconia, stronger yet than those of Lesbos, contributed to irritate it in individuals who were sensible of a natural tendency. What is astonishing, is, that this fallacious passion did not heal the real one, of love; and Sappho was so much hurried away by these two slaveries at the same time, that she had recourse to a leap from the rock in the island of Leucas; but it is not positively known if she so finished her days, or if she was one of those who applied feathers and wings to their bodies, that they might sustain themselves after their fall upon the sea, where, as Strabo mentions, they were afterwards succoured

succoured by the priests of Apollo, who pretended that this immersion calmed their erotic furies, or mad-fits : and they treated the lovers as physicians treat those in the hydrophobia; for to such great evils, said they, must be applied extraordinary remedies.

The second cause of the extreme disorder that was seen to reign among the Spartan women, arose from the luxury and immense riches that were there accumulated, in acquiring all the landed estates formerly possessed by the male branches, who had been mowed down in the discord of war. When a general heiress, or *epiclere*, married, she preserved, even during the term of this union, the sovereign right of disposing of her fortune.*

Such institutions rendered the Spartans the slaves of their own wives ; who had not only a great authority in the interior of their families, but yet greater influence in the state deliberations : notwithstanding, they were far from ever preventing a war, because war enriched them. But when king Agis was desirous of reforming the government, they

* Ubbo Emmius, de la republique de Lacedemone. p. 266.

let him understand, that he had not the power to effect such a revolution ; and what they said was exactly true : since a state so vicious in its principles, and attacked at the same time by so many political complaints, could not but degenerate into despotism ; and that so happened under the reign of Cleomenes, an atrocious tyrant, as all those were who succeeded him.

Although the excessive depopulation of Sparta had been in a great measure brought about by the spirit of the government, and by the national pride, which put aside all strangers who might have aspired to the rights of a citizen ; there is, nevertheless, no doubt but the licentiousness, and, above all, the luxury of the women, contributed to diminish the number of births, and marriages : for, in proportion as luxury augments, the number of those who live in celibacy increases ; and such a citizen, who might wish to be the father of a family, might yet be unwilling to ruin himself, for the sole pleasure of seeing his wife dressed in silk, and an egret of diamonds in her cap. You have, said a philosopher to Penthesillea of Corinth,
a rich

a rich and superbly embroidered robe, but it will prevent your having a husband.

Aristotle affirms, in his book of Politics, every line of which contains a great lesson, or a great truth, that the portions ought to be very moderate in republican governments ; and, that at Sparta, where a depopulation was foreseen that must annihilate the state, they ought to have lowered them very much ; notwithstanding, it is precisely there, adds he, that the portions are excessive, and throw a thousand obstacles in the way of increasing mankind. But it is easy to discover that all this belonged to the national avarice, for it is not the women but the men who determine the amount of the dowry, when they wish to determine it by just laws.

II.

Of the Military Education of the Lacedemonians.

AS it is an error to manure land over much, so it was a great error at Sparta to over exercise the troops ; for excessive exercise

cise blunts the natural courage of man. By being too much struck every day with the image of death and destruction, they began to fear the sword, and finished by detesting it. From thence the Spartans became famous Thraſydiles, upon whom Tyrtæus in vain tried the power of his poetry.

In the midst of peace the Athenians were always crowned with violets, and dressed in purple. They assisted either at shows or fairs; or conducted a chorus-dance from Phalerea to Marathon, without any remembrance of old armour, which they preserved in their houses as the most useless of instruments. But when the occasion called upon these men, in a serious manner, to make war, they looked out their helmets and swords, and gave battle the next day according to all the rules of tactics, which they never learnt but once in their lives, and, nevertheless, they knew them in the highest degree; so that they are rarely seen to err against the first principles. And Diodorus Siculus says, that their heavy cavalry was the best in Greece; whilst that of the Lacedemonians was the worst, by being too much exercised. In effect, nothing can be more absurd, than to
exercise

exercise the horses so much in time of peace as to make them good for nothing in war.

It must not be imagined that there were many combinations nor much genius in the exercises of Spartan youth, for they had so servilely copied the Cretans, that it was impossible to remark the smallest distinction; not only the same things were seen, but even the same words were heard. In Sparta as at Crete they gave the name of *Agélé* to a troop of children which they made to encounter another of the same age and strength, till one or other were driven headlong into the Eurotas, or the waters of Oenon; from whence it happened, that some individuals, who were born without any defect in their shape, and whose constitutions the magistrate had approved, were maimed during the course of their youth by the effects of a fall, as happened to Agefilas.

Amongst all the people ever so little civilized, they have always endeavoured to prevent the natural and innate inclination to pugnacity in male children; on the contrary they encouraged it at Sparta: but it is certain that on this account there was a great revolution in the constitution of many subjects, towards the age of twenty-four years; and

those who had been the boldest champions, and the most furious during their youth, often finished by becoming the most cowardly men. This unhappy disposition, which I have described by the term of pugnacity for want of another, has its source in the heat of the blood, and in the absolute ignorance of children of every thing respecting right and justice, in such sort, that they always have recourse to force ; it was consequently a great moral error, on the side of the Spartans, to endeavour to increase an inclination founded on impulses, blind and purely animal.

At the age of five years the Lacedemonian children began to learn the pyrrhic or military dance, and from that time they were put under the discipline of musicians to instruct them in playing on the Laconic flute, from which no citizen was exempt ; that is to say, he must at least know the different airs of the Dorian manner, played in the army, on which the evolutions of the phalanx were always regulated.

At seven years of age the children decidedly quitted the paternal mansion, to dwell in the casernes, or rooms provided for the soldiery of the state, who bore the expence of their own

own maintenance; and some authors have pretended, that they were brought up in the interior country of Laconia, at a great distance from the capital. This rustic education had even been carried, according to Justin, to such a degree of rigour, that they did not permit the youth thus brought up, to enter the bounds of the city till they had reached the term of manhood, which the laws fixed at thirty years of age.*

It is true that the principal gymnasium consecrated to military exercises, which they named the *Phoebeon*, was situated out of Lacedæmon, on the side of Therapne, to the east of the Eurotas; but this does not hinder that the assertion of Justin, like that of many ancient writers respecting the Spartans, does not contain a manifest mistake; since the children were very often exercised in the centre of the city, without which they would not have been, for the greater part, buried under

* Pueros puberes non in forum, sed in agros deduci præcepit, neque prius in urbem redire, quam viri facti essent, statuit.

† All the other institutions which Justin attributes to Lærgus, are as fabulous as this.

the

the ruins of a portico which fell upon them at the time of an earthquake. Besides, at the time of a general review of the army, the young men dined among the soldiers in the public halls, and those magistrates they called *Bidiens*, that are known to have been charged with the department of the national education, kept their tribunal in the middle of Sparta.

The body of youth that was brought up in common, was composed of four different classes.

The first comprehended the children of free citizens, whatever their fortune, rank, or dignity might be; the presumptive heirs of the throne excepted, whom they would not expose every day to receive blows in boxing, or wrestling, for fear of lessening the respect to the kings, and to those who might become so.

In the next place followed the *Mothaces*, who were raised a little only above the freedmen, but having finished the course of their education, they might afterwards arrive at any rank either in the navy or army; an example of which is seen in the person of Lyfander,

lander, who was born in the order of the Mothaces.

After these two classes followed the children of strangers, whose parents, violently attached to the Laconic institutions, sent them to Sparta, there to learn the use of arms and the worst of manners. The strangers brought up there, were described by the term of *Trophimés*; and, according to appearances, they paid the expence of their board and cloathing, which was uniform with all the casernes or barracks.

Lastly, the fourth division consisted in illegitimate children, which the incontinence of the unmarried or married women brought into the world, whether in time of peace or war. Xenophon calls all these pupils, without reserve, Bastards of Sparta; but afterwards, in order to soften the rigour of the term by the excellence of the thing, he pretends, that in spite of this irregularity of birth, the individuals might be compared to the first men of the nation.*

* *Helleniques,*

All

such a melody, as if one heard it played in the midst of a camp, to the sound of Laconic flutes and lyres.

As among the savages of America the war-song, without having any sensible influence on the courage of the warriors, augments nevertheless the spirit of vengeance, which is terrible amongst barbarians; in like manner the verses of Sophron, Spendon, and Tyræus, excited in the soul of the Spartan, a vindictive and atrocious character, which the military schoolmasters endeavoured to irritate further in admitting their pupils to go and cut the throats of the Helotes, by an ambuscade, and to pillage the farms of the Laconian tributaries, whenever they could introduce themselves by art or surprize.

Those who choose to call in question facts of this nature, do not reflect on the unfortunate state in which Europe was plunged during the pillage of the Feudal system, when all the gentlemen robbed on the high-ways. The greatest part of the mountains of Germany are at this time covered with the ruins of castles, which, on the confession of German historians, were the castles of robbers, inhabited by the first barons of the empire, who glorified

glorified themselves in making a brilliant fortune by adopting such a profession. The emperor Rudolph overturned sixty-six fortresses of these robbers, the Suabian league destroyed a hundred and forty more, and in spite of that a great number remained.

It is easy to judge by such facts as these, to what degree the human mind can descend, and into what abyss it can plunge itself, when it can condemn to oblivion, the arts, sciences, laws, and all the civil institutions, which alone raise mankind above the wild beasts: for religion by itself, has no sensible influence on the virtue of nations, since the Lacedemonians were the most excessively superstitious of all mortals; and all the knights who robbed and assassinated the travellers in feudal times, were christians; neither was it by theology, but by a little improvement in the police, which set bounds to this frightful depredation.

Plutarch pretends that murder and address in robbery was permitted the Spartan children in order that they might be early trained to the operations of the lesser war, which consisted in pillaging the enemies country without much hazard of losing their lives :

lives. But it would be very wrong to make such trials, and give such precepts in a country inhabited by one and the same nation, well united together; whereas in Laconia there existed two different nations, one of which was the oppressor, the other the oppressed. It was only amongst the possessions of the Achæians and the conquered Messenians, that the pupils of the military school committed these ravages; for they dared not to plunder in the middle of Lacedæmonia, which belonged to the Spartans of the Doric race.

This observation removes the difficulties which have stopped those, who pretended to reach the source of the Laconic institutions; they manifestly tended to weaken the Helotes on one side, and the tributary inhabitants on the other; who at length conceived so mortal an hatred for the Spartans, that they said, "with pleasure they should devour the bowels even, of those pitiless despots". Such were the expressions even of the confession that Cinadon made to the Ephori, when they discovered the famous conspiracy that the natives of Laconia had set on foot against Sparta*.

*Xenop. Hell. Lib. 1. 11. Et l'Hist. philos. et politiques des loix de Lycurgue.

It suffices only to reflect on the plan of this education, where they had combined wrestling, boxing, running, hunting, music, dancing, tactics, murder and robbery, to conceive, that the principal force of these institutions, affected not only the bodily faculties, but corrupted the heart, and stifled all improvement of the mind. Isocrates and Plato also affirm, that most of the Lacedæmonians were in this respect so little instructed, they could neither read, sign their name, nor calculate beyond their fingers, which they looked upon, at Athens, as the most complete disgrace; and the most injurious language consisted in calling a citizen, *Apaideutos* and *Amanfos*, as much as to say, that he had not in his infancy been brought up after the Athenian manner.

King Agis, the last of the name, who continually lamented the barbarity and corruption of the Spartans, thought that it was possible to reform their manners, by enlightening their minds concerning their duties; and he invited a philosopher to Sparta, a stranger, of the Stoic sect, called Sphærus, in order to instruct the youth; and we have now some slight fragments of a political treatise, which this Stoic composed at that time.

time. But this education, now too late, was absolutely given up, as soon as Agis had been sacrificed by those, whom he was desirous to train to virtue. The Spartans, who would suffer no bounds to be set to their perverseness, tore this king from his throne, and strangled him in the public prison, as the most infamous of men. Then anarchy went on increasing, confusion became inexpressible, and the state fell into ruin, with a vast crush upon those, who preferred so many political evils to the gentle remedies of philosophy.

We could here finish this article, if it were not yet necessary to observe, that the beating their children with rods, at the feet of the statue of Diana Orthia, has been improperly confounded with the exercises of the Spartan youth; for these things had not ever, the least connection with each other.

This flagellation was a religious ceremony, or rather an execrable fanaticism, the origin of which is well known. They formerly sacrificed human victims at Sparta, as Pausanias and Porphyry acknowledge; but when the voice of humanity had made its way to the hearts of the Greeks, they abolished those
impious

impious and unnatural sacrifices: but the Spartans, much attached to their ancient customs, pretended that the statue of Diana Orthia, was so much accustomed to receive such offerings, that to refuse them, would draw down some great disaster, or prodigious misfortune upon the nation; and instead of tearing out the hearts of the children, they flogged them, till the altar and the pavement of the temple were bathed with their blood; and it often happened, that the wounds of these victims inflamed to such a degree, that they expired some days after they had received them*.

Cicero was certainly very much out, in reckoning such exploits amongst the examples of constancy of the Spartans; since this sacrifice, in whatever point of view it is examined, presents a spectacle of the most horrid superstition; which may be found amongst other people of the Doric race, settled in the Peloponnesus; who equally shed the blood of their children, upon the pretended tomb of Pelops; for that was the name of

* Porphyre, de l'Abstinence. lib. 2. et Pausanias Lacon, c. 16.

this

this altar of horror worthy of the Tauride†.

These relations are more than sufficient to demonstrate the error of those who have maintained, that this barbarous ceremony was practiced in no part of Greece but Lacedemon; where the children of the slaves only, the Helotes, underwent this oppression, which their condition exposed them to; where they reckoned the life of a man as a trifle, and that of a child as nothing§.

III.

Of the Character of the Lacedemonians.

WE are acquainted with two causes only which can change a pacific nation into a military people; either the fear of being subdued by their neighbours, or the desire of making conquests, in its turn.

The Spartans were in neither of these pre-

† They called this sacrifice, the effusion of Children's blood.

§ Archeologie Grecque, tome 1. p. 400.

dicaments, but rather in both at the same time. At first they feared to be subdued by their own slaves; afterwards they armed themselves more and more to preserve an acquisition so important as the conquest of Messenia, to which their political existence was united; and after that they even dared to aspire to the empire of the sea, in such sort, that all their ideas were absorbed in war, and every thing that had relation to it.

A situation so violent naturally inspires men with great melancholy, and the constant handling of arms, would make them yet more taciturn. In their military exercises also, we discover the origin of their Laconism. All the Greek Tacticians observed, that it was absolutely necessary to abridge, as much as possible all the terms of command that the superior officers made use of to perform the evolutions of the Phalanx, in imposing profound silence on the soldiers during the whole time of the manœuvres.

It is not at all surprizing that the Spartans, brought up in this manner from their most

* Arrien, *Tactique*, p. 72. et L'emperor Leon, des Exercices.

tender infancy, should have contracted the habit of speaking in time of peace, as they talked in the army; and one can scarcely conceive how Mr. de la Nause could take this kind of military Laconism for a mark of the most sublime philosophy. The proofs he employs to maintain such a paradox, discovers a confused erudition, deficient in all the knowledge of criticism, and consequently more dangerous than ignorance itself.†

Besides, it is certain that the author of the tract on the Lacedemonian republic, has ridiculously magnified the grave air and demeanour of the Spartans. These men, says he, walk in public with such an astonishing gravity, that they speak no more than the stones; they are as little seen to move their eyes as statues of brass, and for their modesty they have more than is to be ever found in the most inaccessible apartments of virgins.

It is these phrases and hyperboles that Longinus has condemned, in his treatise of the sublime, as the greatest excess of fustian language: but Longinus had had more penetration, if he had made a distinction between

† *Memoire sur l'etat de Science a Lacedemone*, Acad. des Inscr: tome 19.

the counterfeit pictures by bad painters, and the originals of the great masters; he would at once have perceived that he injured the genius of Xenophon, by looking upon him as the author of a production, which, by the confession of Demetrius of Magnesia, had been falsely attributed to him by one of those Pseudonomous, who had prodigiously multiplied at Athens; and we have already observed, that their pernicious industry spread thick clouds over literature.

Finally, the taciturnity of the Spartans had, perhaps, never been so remarkable, nor so striking amongst the other nations of Europe, as it would naturally appear among the greater part of the Greeks; who reasoned eternally, spoke loud in public, disputed in the streets, and afterwards stopt each other in the middle of a market, or under a portico, to give solutions of problems, in the most noisy manner. They often carried about books with them in the folds of their cloaks, to convince their adversaries by axioms, and decisive sentences*.

In the middle of Lacedemon, such like contestations were never heard; and the Do-

* Plautius, in the *Curcalio*, act 2. p. 3.

ric tongue that they spoke, was so poor in words, and had such coarseness and obscurity, that it could not be employed in the discussion of scientific and abstract matters. It was impossible for some of the inhabitants of Ionia, to understand this dialect, so degenerated from the mother tongue, without an interpreter, for it seemed to belong to a foreign idiom; and it is only by the means of a commentary, that the learned can now explain the jargon of a Lacedemonian woman, that Aristophanes has introduced in one of his comedies.

We have already had occasion to remark, that the great urbanity of the Athenians, was the fruit of their application to the study of philosophy, of the excessive mildness of their civil laws, of the perfection of their theatre, and, in fine, of their continual connections with strangers of all nations, drawn there by the allurements of trade, or a taste for the fine arts. Of all these causes, no one could have any influence on the progress of civilization at Sparta; where luxury itself, far from having any thing like that at Corinth, Argos, and Athens, was transformed into a vulgar ostentation, and a savage pomp, like

that of the Turks, Tartars, and the greater part of the Asiatics.

The Spartans living together, associated with slaves, soldiers, and army followers, could neither soften their accent, nor enrich their language, nor improve their manners, nor correct their morals, in studying those of strangers, whom they kept off with an insulting contempt, which carried all the marks of the most violent hatred.

This customary intolerance, which in greek was properly enough called *Xenelafie*, and which made Sparta so disgustful, sprung first from great national pride; and afterwards from the constitution itself, of a military government. As they were always meditating enterprizes, the success of which depended much on secrecy, they there looked on strangers as dangerous spies; and hid with all imaginable care, whatever related to the real force of their armies, and the instructions given to the commanders, that the keenest eye could never pierce the veil of such a mystery. Thucydides also affirms, that the historians, annalists and Grecian chroniclers, could never procure the necessary intelligence, to be able to speak with certainty of
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the number of the effective fighting men, who formed the Lacedemonian phalanx, and the body of the auxiliary troops*.

On the other hand, the debauches of the women were carried to such excess, that they dared not allow them any acquaintance with strangers, for they yielded to the slightest temptations; and the example of Alcibiades, which went so far as to mount the royal nuptial bed, prove enough, that it was sufficient to have desires only, to insure enjoyment: nevertheless, these women, whose minds were so weak, knew all political affairs exactly; endeavours were made to obstruct their connections with those, who might be interested in getting to the bottom of state secrets, which we well enough know have been so often betrayed by love.

From whence it happened, that the Lacedemonian women, abandoned to their own inclinations, and to the impulses only of instinct, could not partake of the progress which the knowledge of manners made among the other Grecian people. They enslaved the men by the vices of their heart, without making

* Thucydide. L. 5—et Agius. L. 4. P. 389.

them

them more polite by the charms of their mind. Besides, the great riches they had acquired, and the custom they were in of mounting the theatre, made them confound the finery which might become the scene, with the ornaments appropriated to social life: and it is this overturn of manners and fashions, which has had great influence in Europe, on the dress of the sex, for near twenty years past; in such sort, that some illustrious ladies, who are far enough from being courtezans, or stage dancers, do, however, dress themselves as those people are dressed; which has peculiarly debased the most respectable institutions of society, in changing them into a theatrical pastime; where they every day put on new masks, of which some are so frightful, that they drive away the Graces themselves.

It is again necessary to remark, that the institutions commonly attributed to Lycurgus, did not form a series of original laws, accommodated to the wants and local circumstances of the Grecian continent; but that they had been copied from those of the islanders of Crete, who attacked at that time by a swarm of pirates, might well conceive a
great

great aversion for all foreign navigators who appeared on their coasts.*

This spirit of the Cretan laws passed at a time when no person there, was enlightened enough to distinguish between such political institutions as might suit the inhabitants of the main land, and those adapted to the inhabitants of the islands of the Archipelago; where the ungratefulness of the soil, and the scarcity of provisions, often rendered hospitality burdensome, which made the legislators not encourage it as a national virtue.

Independently of these considerations, the Lacedemonians said they, always fear least the strangers should compass a rising of the Laconian slaves by some secret instigation. Aristotle seems to have thought that this apprehension amongst them was the most plausible motive for the Xenelæsie, or intolerance; but if they had there treated those unfortunate people with more kindness and humanity, such fears would have vanished; as among the other Greeks, where domestic slavery was established on less revolting principles and maxims.

* Pausanias, Laconique.

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The Spartans of the Doric race never exercised any trade, whatever name we may give it, either in the mechanical class or in the order of the liberal arts ; so that among them all, the manufactures were carried on by the Laconian tributaries, and the lands all cultivated by the Helotes and the Messenian slaves. But as commerce here offered so many means of getting rich, the nobility of Sparta, were interested in it directly or indirectly by their agents.

As soon as the citizens reached the term of life when the law dispensed with their military service, they applied themselves to usury; and, as Plutarch says, from soldiers they became bankers.*

They had in general so much inclination for traffick, that the most rigorous punishment inflicted on those soldiers who had shewn themselves poltrons, consisted in forbidding them the entrance of the Lacedemonian market ; so that during that time they could neither buy nor sell. It was thus they chastised the three hundred Spartans, who

* Plutarch, if it is proper for old men to govern Republics,

threw

threw down their arms in the island of Sphacteria, to surrender themselves prisoners to the Athenians; but they afterwards through fear or compassion, re-established them in all the honours of commerce; though they were the first Thraſydiles, or rather the first Poltrons, of the Peloponneſus.†

We have ſeen that the greater part of the Greeks introduced ſubtilties into the operations and details of commerce, that brought their credit into great ſuſpicion. They had however written laws at Athens, againſt the tricks of merchants; they had tribunals and orators who unmaſked the culpable, and delivered them up to a public courſe of law; whiſt at Sparta, where they had no written law, the management of commerce muſt become ſubject to a thouſand uncertainties, and arbitrary interpretations.

It was, above all, this want of poſitive jurisprudence, that ſpread a ſpirit of intrigue, and a decided inclination for the moſt inſidious policy. Lyſander ſaid, openly amongſt them, “That children were to be tricked by ſports, and men by oaths.”

† Thucydide, lib. 5.

It is this which demonstrates clearly, that this continual employment of trick, and contempt for all civil contracts, resulted from a vicious legislation, incapable of fixing the obligations of man in society. It was this which made the Cretans, who would have no written laws, equally famous throughout the world, by their duplicity, sophistical logic, and by every thing, in short, which was named Cretan falsehoods. Nevertheless, Polybius pretends, that the inhabitants of this island, had yet more avidity for gain, and were more sordidly covetous, than the Lacedemonians themselves: but it was impossible for him to prove it, by an enumeration of facts comparable to those we have noticed in the preceding section.

The hundred cities of Crete never contained the half of the gold and silver that they had heaped up at Sparta. But the booty was, as we have shown, the produce of uninterrupted wars and enterprizes, indistinctly against all the nations of Greece, where the Spartans were desirous of reigning absolute masters: this was the great end of their policy, and object of their wishes. Crete was without doubt far enough from being animated by a like ambition, nor did she ever form projects
so

so dangerous to the peace of the neighbouring islands of the Archipelago, none of which she ever subdued : although by her situation she was in a state to have become the centre of a large empire, stretched over Asia and Europe ; and no point known of the ancient continent appeared in the eyes of Aristotle more proper than that to create a real formidable power.

Besides, the greatest reproaches that the Cretans underwent from their contemporaries, cannot be compared to the imputations charged on the Lacedemonians, whom they accused to be without altar, faith, or oath ; because they violated treaties of peace and alliance, as soon as they found the least interest to do it. Never were a people seen more superstitious in appearance, nor more impious in reality. It undertook no war without consulting some oracle, and often several at the same time. They offered constantly sacrifices to the gods, and finished by robbing their temple. It pillaged the sacred territory of Elis from one end to the other, which the Greeks respected as inviolable. It carried off the vases of gold and silver inclosed in Eleusis which all the Greeks regarded as yet more

sacred. It became an accomplice in the sacrilegious of those who plundered the treasure of Apollo at Delphos. It dared to set fire to the consecrated grove of Juno of Argos, and burn all the votaries who had fled there. It dared, in fine, in the midst of peace, to seize the citadel of Thebes, for the accomplishment of its treasons against faith, pledged and received.

King Agefilaus is commonly distinguished from the other Spartans, because Xenophon, then engaged in the Spartan party, has made a very fastidious eulogium of this pretended hero, who in reality was no more than a signal robber. All his expeditions into Asia and Egypt had not, on the confession of his panegyrist himself, any other end, than amassing money by pillage and depredation. He brought from Lydia, Phrygia and Egypt, 220 talents, nearly six millions of livres, without reckoning the pay and maintenance of his troops, who lived at discretion throughout the whole territory of the enemy, or of those they called such.*

* Xenophon, Nepos, and Plutarch, life of Agefilaus.

This inextinguishable thirst of booty was a necessary effect of the education of the Spartan youth, such as they received in the military school, where murder and robbery were reduced into a system; so that the first notions of morality were absolutely stifled in the bosoms of the pupils.

After having learnt to despise all the rights of humanity and all the bonds of civil life, they finished by attaching a great importance to force, or trick, which stood in its place, and saw nothing in arms, but proper instruments to satisfy their avarice, which increased in proportion to the acquisition of their spoils.

Moreover, this custom of placing, together all the young men of the nation, at the instant even that the fire of adolescence began to inflame their passions, ought naturally to bring on consequences, very pernicious to their manners in corrupting instinct: so that the Spartans were the most infected of all the Greeks with this unhappy passion, which shocks the first views of nature.*

* Theodoret, de curandis Græcorum affectibus, sect. 10. p. 630.

To say that Lycurgus made particular laws to favour this depravity, is to accuse him in the same manner, as the legislators of Crete were accused: nevertheless, there is reason to believe, that the effects have been confounded with the causes in all these things: for the manner in which the Cretans brought up their children, and that in which the Spartans were educated, ought to produce exactly the same inconveniences which the first institutors had not foreseen. At least it is certain, that Lycurgus had never foreseen, that one day the contempt for all notions of modesty, should at Sparta be carried to that degree, that men would dare to appear naked on the race-course; for we have already observed that this nudity did not begin till between the 70th and 80th olympiad, and consequently many ages after the death of Lycurgus; which demonstrates evidently, that he was never the author of an infinity of institutions, that historians, ignorant of chronology, have imputed to him. It is absurd to say, that he exacted from the women that which he did not exact from the men; for in his time it was an action truly infamous in the eyes of the Greeks, to appear without cloaths in public: but since, the Spartans

Spartans put themselves above all considerations, and trampled all the rights of decorum under foot.

Such was in general the character and genius of this nation, the enemy of manners and the arts of peace; and, that independently of so many other causes, its ignorance alone ought to cast it headlong into the excesses of the last corruption. Notwithstanding, those who have observed the crafty manner with which the Spartans often conducted political negotiations, and enterprizes the most difficult and complicated, believe they were not defective in that kind of natural penetration, which would have made them succeed in the study of the sciences, if they had applied themselves with the same ardour as the Athenians: but, in this respect, we ought to take notice, that there is a great difference between this light, which gives intelligence to the grossest people concerning their personal interests, and this blaze of genius, which pierces through the veils of nature. Doctor Robertson, who has commented, in English, my researches concerning the Americans, pretends, that the savage hords, the most stupid, often give marks of an astonishing sagacity in whatever immediately affect the preservation

servation of their existence : but, this observation, which may equally be applied to the instinct of some animals, prove sufficiently, that we ought not to confound that subtlety which physical wants impress on the mind of man, with this faculty of combining abstract ideas, which enables him to go beyond the limits of the moral world, and make that comprehensible to his mind, which is invisible to his sight.

For the rest, nothing can be more useless than this study, where they seek after what a people of antiquity might have arrived at, if it had adopted certain laws, and followed certain principles ; for if it is no great art to reason upon facts, it is yet much less an art to reason upon possibilities.

IV.

Of the public Repasts of the Lacedemonians.

THE luxury introduced into these banquets, surpassed all that the greatest exaggerators of Greece have ever said of the *Sybarites*, of their beds of roses, of the multitude

titude of their cooks, and of the sumptuousness of their tables.

Atheneus affirms, that under the reign of King Acrotates, they served up the most exquisite wines, the most precious perfumes, and the best desserts that could be found, at the repasts in the public halls at Sparta, destined for that purpose ; while the carpets and bed cushions, stuffed with the swan-down of Amyclea, were so loaded with embroidery, and riches, that strangers, little accustomed to such Asiatic pomp, were afraid to use them, lest they should do harm to such magnificent furniture*.

Before the conquest of Messenia, when the Spartans were a poor people, it is natural, that they could not provide such luxuries ; but when they had collected together the spoils of an hundred ransomed countries, and as many stript bare, like Attica, Elis and Corcyra, their dissoluteness became excessive, and they observed no medium, except in the exterior appearance of their cloaths ; something like the Aristocrats of Berne, and the nobles of Venice, who appear in

* Dipsosoph, Lib. 4. C. 4.

public in a dress so mournful, and sleep in apartments furnished with gold and silver stuffs.

It was only through pride, says Aristotle, that the Spartans affect to be so ill dressed; but this pride even was combined with a certain policy, and every where that the civil government approaches to the form of an obligarchy, the pomp of dress is seen to diminish amongst the members of the regency, and the interior luxury of the houses to increase. When a few men who dare not openly take the title of kings, who, nevertheless, govern a subdued country arbitrarily, it is necessary, that such people should not constantly appear in public with equipages too brilliant, lest they should offend the sight of those whom they oppress, by conducting them to the last extremities of despair; and as liberty has its secrets, so tyranny has also.

It is nature herself, who has taught people the most savage and barbarous, that every father of a family ought to govern his house, and preside at table; so the repasts that the Spartans took out of their houses, were under institutions opposed to the primitive customs, which the common consent of mankind

kind had established in the other parts of the world. But, when a nation is constrained to shock the general order of all societies, that nation finds itself in very particularly circumstances, which oblige it to go aside from the road pointed out by reason. It is in the military exercises only, that we can look for the origin of the Lacedemonian public repasts : this city was as a place of arms, where the citizens, spread in the interior of Laconia, were obliged to come to learn the trade of war, under the eyes of the Ephori ; so that the necessity of providing for the subsistence of so many men, whose families resided at a great distance from the capital, made them establish common tables, kept up at the expense of those who dined there. Some modern authors have found reason to think, that these repasts lasted for one month only, in the year*. In effect, this term is sufficient to pass the citizens in review, that were assembled as an army, and for them to go through all the evolutions appropriated to the Laconic plalanx ; for except at the time of exercise, they often saw but few Spartans at Lacedemon†.

VOL. II.

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* Meursius. *Miscellanea Laconica*. Lib. 1. P. 46.† Xenophon affirms, that on the day they discovered
the

If Plato had better fathomed the spirit of these institutions, he would never have been astonished that the virgins and wives were excluded from these banquets, purely military; they never admitted them, for the same reason that they were not admitted into a camp, or on board a fleet.

For the rest, all these whimsical customs occasioned a great derangement in the economical order of the families among the poor, who paid precisely the same sum as the most opulent paid, but that which was for these, but an expence scarcely felt, was an insupportable load to the other; and Aristotle looks upon it as a manifest injustice that this contribution, which was equal to a tax, should have been so unequally divided.*

When a Spartan, either by his own fault, or by unforeseen accident, fell into such complete indigence, that he could no longer contribute to the military repasts, he was

the conspiracy of Cinadon, there were only forty Spartans at Lacedemon; all the others were retired into the country.

* Politique, lib. 2.

from that instant deprived of his civil dignity, and he saw himself reduced to the class they called *Hypomiones*; that is to say, subjects absolutely incapable of filling the magistracy.

There were great misdemeanours in this part of the administration, as well as in that of the finances, which constantly went on increasing: and they even forced the citizens to furnish more provisions than the most voracious man could consume.

The Roman soldiers received at most but four bushels of wheat for a months subsistence, while at Sparta each guest was obliged to furnish nine bushels of flour, besides a great quantity of wine, for thirty days.*

When to this profusion is joined an immoderate luxury, the greater part of the citizens were unable to provide for such an expence, which made the government degenerate into an oligarchy; for the more men that were excluded from the magistracy, the more these

* Fragment de Dicearque le Laconien cite, par Athenes.

employments were concentrated in a small number of families.

Some philosophers of old times thought, that in the isle at Crete, where the public tables were kept up at the expence of the nation, and not of that of the individuals, that the institution had less hurtful effects than at Sparta; but in reality they differed only more or less; and far from inspiring any taste for moderation, and love of frugality, they insensibly increased debauch and intemperance amongst the soldiery. Xenophon himself owns, that when the Spartans had plundered the island of Corcyra, the troops became so dissolute, that they would drink perfumed wines only, which was esteemed the highest pitch of luxury of kings.

This excess brought on terrible consequences; and it was an opinion generally spread in Greece, that the Spartan Cleombrotus, the commander of his country's army at the battle of Leuctra, had got drunk, with all the general officers who composed his council; and, that, in this fit of ebriety, they took the resolution to go and attack Epaminondas, from whence, their first loss was that of Messenia, and, in fine, that of the state.

Of

V.

Of the interior State of the city of Lacedemon.

THE description we have given of Lacedemon, was purposely designed to fix the reader's ideas. On this part of Greece in general, and in a picture drawn so quickly, there was no stopping at particular considerations, relative to the state of the capital, where we must descend to acquire a deep knowledge of the manners and luxury of the inhabitants.

Lacedemon seated at the bottom of the long valley watered by the Eurotas, yielded to no city of the Peloponnesus for beauties and agreeableness, which nature and art had combined to adorn. The public conductors who carried strangers into this labyrinth of thickets and gardens, talked of nothing but of mythologic events relative to Castor and Pollux, Hyacinthus, Leda, and, above all, of Hellen, whose name was carved on the barks of most of the planes, where these words were written in the Doric tongue: "Reverence
me

me, for I am Hellen's Tree." Shepherds or idle hunters, had engraved these inscriptions, which these Mystagogues shew afterwards as historical monuments; for the rest, it was exactly in this place, which they called the Plane Grove, that the poet Alcman, so many times raised his lyre, to a strain as voluptuous as that of Anacreon; and it is again here, that the Spartan daughters so often sang this famous canticle, that Sappho composed at fifteen years of age, which began thus, "O virginity, virginity, whether do you fly, after having quitted me?"

As soon as they had passed through these avenues, so romantic and remarkable for so many exploits, they arrived at Lacedemon; yet more astonished at what they saw there, than at what they had heard: for no city of European Greece was ornamented with so much Oriental taste; and the decoration of the public edifices announced an excessive profusion. The principle temple, consecrated to Minerva, was entirely constructed in bronze; that is to say, the front, and all the visible parts, from the top to the base of the columns, were quite covered with brass and sculptures; and bas-reliefs in form of medallions, representing the labours of Hercules, the miraculous

raculous birth of Minerva, and other subjects of this nature, picked from a mass of fables, which they called Theology.

It was from pure ostentation of their riches and power, that the Lacedemonians raised such a sort of edifice, which might have been much better executed in stone; since the intrinsic quality of metal, subject to be attacked by rust, or corrosion of the moist air upon a spot often overflowed by the Eurotas, added nothing to the value of the exterior ornaments, except the image of a luxury, which was without example in Greece; where the great artists were never tempted to imitate a model, which departed so much from the ordinary rules.

To this temple of Minerva, which stood in the middle of the city, succeeded the great theatre, the construction of which had equally absorbed prodigious sums; for Pausanias affirms, that it was built in all parts of white marble; so that by its outward magnificence, it carried it much above the theatre of Athens, cut simply out of the rock; but it was much inferior, by the bad choice of farces and low dramas, which they represented. There was no seeing without regret, a
scene

scene so superb, debased by the acting of trifling buffoons.

Amongst the public buildings, and the tribunals with which the principal square of Lacedemon was surrounded, the portico of the Persians, was distinguished above the rest; where the correctness and simplicity of the beautiful architecture, had, however, been sacrificed to the vain ideas of pomp and grandeur: for the entablature did not rest on columns belonging to a particular order, but was supported by colossal statues of white marble, representing the principal officers of Xerxes's army, killed or taken at the battle of Platea; such as Mardonius, who appeared in the humiliating posture of a captive, and cloathed according to the dress in use amongst the *Satrap*s of Persia or Medea*.

All that has been objected against the bad taste, and the faulty use of the Caryatides, might be applied to their portico; which, at first view, shocked probability, and even the principles of the art: for in a statue, the neck necessarily becomes a member too weak,

* Vitruve, Architect. Lib. 1. C. 1. Et le Commentaire de Philandre sur les Caryatides.

with

with respect to the burden of the architrave and frize. But, as the architects of this part of the Peloponnesus, were, according to all likelihood, the real inventors of the Caryatides, who took their name from a small town of Laconia, they affected to employ this order, in preference to the others; and they had also applied it to the throne of Apollo, at Amyclea, where the graces and hours personified, sustained the heaviest part of this immense group, overcharged with figures and ornaments in bronze; in such sort, that legerity, which is the first attribute of the hours and graces, was here changed into a suffering attitude, and a state of exertion, against the nature of this kind of symbols.

The place the best ornamented at Lacedemon, was the Pecile; which was not reduced, like that at Athens, to a simple gallery of paintings, but it took in a large space surrounded with walls, decorated with superb paintings in Fresco, that the Romans had the astonishing industry to carry away, by insensibly sawing through the cement, by which they stuck to the walls; and they arrived in Italy, without damage, from a course of operation so violent*.

* Pline, H. N. Lib. 35. C. 14.

It was thus that such insatiable conquerors despoiled Greece of these ornaments that it seemed impossible to be deprived of, which were afterwards buried in some palace, in the country near Rome, and lost to the history of the arts to such a degree, that the subject even of these paintings, executed at Lacedemon by foreign artists, were not known; for there never appeared in all the extent of Laconia, one painter worthy to be compared to the worst pupil of the Sicyon school: and in the class of sculptors, there was only one Lacedemonian, of the name of Gitiades, who acquired any reputation; and his masterpeice was a bronze medallion, representing Amphitrite and Neptune, to which no statue of Sparta could be compared.

As soon as the Pecile, was quitted to penetrate the interiour quarters of the city, one met with a succession of porticos, destined only for the exposing the different wares of merchandize to sale; and though Lacedemon was not, properly speaking, a place of commerce, from the incommodious distance from the Mediterranean, they, nevertheless, sold there all the plunder that the armies brought at the end of the campaign: and this object

object was of the greatest importance amongst a people who looked upon pillage as the first mode of acquiring. It has been already observed, that the natives of Laconia carried on a regular trade, in the isle of Crete, Africa, and above all in Egypt, where they trafficked more at their ease than the Athenians ; who were received with the greatest distrust, after they attempted to conquer the Delta as high up as Memphis: this always made them much suspected in all the ports of Egypt ; and when this country was under the dominion of the Macedonians, and during Alexander's life even, they began, says Demosthenes, to obstruct the Athenians in their commerce at the mouth of the Nile ;* in such sort, that they almost abandoned this part of Africa, to direct their speculations towards the Crimea, and the Black Sea.

The habitations of individuals, had, at Lacedemon, more solidity and elevation, without comparison, than the houses of Athens ; and from this cause the violent earthquake, which overset Sparta in the year 469 before our era, drew with it such a destruction of men. It

* Demosthene, contre Dionysiodore, p. 1285.

is affirmed, that of all citizens and slaves put together, there were not a hundred and fifty who outlived this disaster; whilst more than twenty thousand, of every age and sex, were buried under the ruins. If this account is not exaggerated, it furnishes all the light we can wish for, touching the population of this city; of which, the extent, valued at forty-eight stadia or two leagues of circumference, upon a plan almost circular, was nearer the size of Athens than Thucydides seems to have thought. The shock, which buried the principal city of the Peloponnesus, was produced by the sudden conflagration of volcanic substances, heaped together under the base of mount Taygetus; from whence it detached itself by the violent commotion of prodigious masses of rock, under which the habitations were intirely buried. It appears, that the continent of old Greece inclosed two kinds of subterranean fires, some of which produced explosions, and consequently earthquakes, and of which others burned constantly, without ever blazing out; like what is observed of those hot springs, the temperature of which has not varied for a thousand years: so that the action of concentrated volcanos, must, in that respect, be remarkably uniform;
for

for if the degree of heat had augmented, these sources would have gone into ebullition, and would have finished themselves by evaporation. If, on the contrary, the fire had been extinguished, these hot baths would grow cold: but we know nothing of this kind has happened in places, concerning which we possess local observations, made during a long series of ages. The more we reflect on these phenomena, it must be confessed, that natural philosophy has not yet acquired very extensive insight concerning the interior state of the globe; of which the rotation or diurnal motion, has, perhaps, some relation, with the action of the volcanos inclosed.

After this catastrophe, the causes of which we have explained, the Laconian architects thought proper to rebuild Lacedemon, as in our days they have rebuilt Lisbon; namely, on the spot where it had been overturned before. When Thucydides pretends that this city was never inhabited but by districts, this is to be understood of the irregularity of the streets, where the ancient tombs standing,

Diodore de Sicile, Lib. 9. C. 23.

obstructed

obstructed the symmetry and contiguity of the buildings; for of all the European Greeks, the Spartans alone would never part with the savage custom of burying the dead in the centre of their capital; where might be counted twenty masses of buildings standing by themselves, and submitted to the police of twenty magistrates, that they called internal Harmostes, to distinguish them from those they sent to govern the municipals of Laconia.

Before that, Sparta was inclosed with walls the enemy's armies could with difficulty make their way through; for the course of the Eurotas, which is very winding in this part of the Peloponnesus, enveloped the city in such a way, to the north and east, that there was no space to form a regular attack on the side of the Hippodrome. They had, moreover, made the entrance of the principal streets so narrow, that very few men could march in front: and when the Romans, commanded by Flaminius, were desirous to pass these narrow passages, to get into the centre of Sparta, they made three attacks at once; the besieged set fire to the advanced districts, so that the fall of tiles, and

and burning beams, crushed the soldiers in places so extremely close*.

When the barbarian nations began to overwhelm the Roman empire, they principally directed their expeditions towards those countries, where they hoped to find the strongest wines. It was that, which, like a compass, pointed out their march, and their motions; and, as Laconia possessed immense vineyards, where they made wines surpassing in strength all those made on the Greek continent, the barbarians fell first upon Lacedæmon; and Libanius, who wrote in the reigns of Julian and Valens, speaks, at that time, of these bacchanalian enterprizes, which have been so frequent since, that they contributed much to the destruction of this city, which, however, in 1464, had some considerable ruins. The Caryatides of the Persian portico were then standing, and other great members of architecture; which since have been so overfet, that one can hardly find any vestiges of the Hippodrome and theatre, in a place called Paleochori, or the old town; the latitude of which, by astronomical observation, is, 37 deg. 11 m. north.

* Titæ-Livæ, Decade, 4 Lib.

The

The Greeks of the Morea, have been long thoroughly persuaded, that formerly there has been a great quantity of gold buried in the neighbourhood of Lacedemon. This treasure, according to their notions, ought much to exceed some found by chance in a subterranean at Athens, under the theatre; which, according to all appearances, had been placed there by the partisans of Harpalus, who carried off from Alexander of Macedon, twenty seven millions of livres, which they were filily carrying from Babylon into Attica.

It may possibly be, that this idea of making a great fortune, by digging among the ruins of Sparta, has contributed to the destruction of the ruins themselves, since the arrival of the Turks in the Peloponnesus. It is, however, true, that the Greek historians could never discover, what in the end was the destiny of the gold and silver accumulated by the Spartans. They were, indeed, to pay the Romans 400 talents, in the time of the tyrant Nabis; but this contribution did not make the hundredth part of what Nabis himself acquired by his continual depredations; and long after his death, there was such an idea of the extreme wealth of Sparta, that Brutus and Cassius, promised to give

give it up to pillage, as a recompence for the valour of their troops, if they came off conquerors at the battle of Philippi : for the Spartans had then declared against the liberty of Rome, in favour of Augustus and Marc Antony, precisely as they had before declared against the liberty of Sicily, in favour of the tyrant Denys, whom they supported with all their power*.

* Appien d' Alexandrie, Hist. des Guerres civiles.
L. 4.

OF THE
GOVERNMENT
OF
S P A R T A.

I.

*Of Lycurgus, and the Custom of un-written
Laws.*

THE greatest politician of Greece had reason to observe, that it was an enterprise full of dangers, and indeed an excessive rashness on the part of the Cretan magistrates, and of the Spartan magistrates to govern a people without the use of written laws. By that, they became almost despotic, deciding all disputes in an arbitrary manner, punishing the citizens without observing any formality,

mality, and resembling rather officers who conduct soldiers with a stick in their hand, than civil magistrates. But this spirit properly formed the essence of a military government; and that of the Spartans was unhappily but too much so. Amongst them the kings and the ephori had an equal interest not to employ written law: they preferred a kind of anarchy which favoured their designs, to a legislation positive, which necessarily would set bounds to two rival powers, which constantly tended to destroy each other.

It is commonly said, that Lycurgus could write and read; but he was determined, say they, not to write his own laws, in order that the people might fix them better in their minds by learning them by heart.*

I dare affirm, that those who hazarded such an assertion had not common sense; since the people could as well learn by heart these pretended laws of Lycurgus, when written, and in the archives of Sparta, as those of Solon were in the citadel of Athens. In order to justify one absurdity, recourse is had to reason-

* Cragius, de la Republique de Lacedemone, lib. 3. p. 169.

ings, yet more absurd than the institution itself; and to this are those reduced, who propose paradoxes, or endeavour to defend those of another.

For want of written laws, says Cicero, the Spartans governed themselves by manners, that is to say, by customs and usages: for in such a state, the old men, as amongst savages, would acquire a great consideration and authority; for they often knew an infinity of things which other men could not know, and might be interrogated concerning the antiquity and spirit of a custom, and lay down all they had learnt from the mouths of their fathers and grand fathers.

But, in spite of this authority of the old men, it was sometimes seen at Sparta, that a magistrate appeared in public to say, that he had traced back an ancient law, that had escaped the memory of the nation; and afterwards they attributed this law to Lycurgus, who was a phantom, under cover of which, the politicians and intriguers played their parts: as they failed of annals, registers, and documents, it was impossible with exactness to recur to the origin of a civil institution. Tradition

dition varied extremely, respecting the degree of power lodged in the first ephori. The kings spoke of all these things in one way, and the magistrates for their parts in another.*

An author, that the nature of the subject obliged to discuss the elements of legislation; and discover the first sources of Grecian jurisprudence, affirms, that the result of his researches were, that he found Lycurgus had made no civil law at Lacedemon;† and, as we have proved, that he made no political law, it must be concluded, that he limited himself to the introduction of the Cretan exercises, without knowing how to read or write; for, otherwise, he must be the most whimsical of men to reject the assistance of writing, which alone can preserve the remembrance of primitive laws, and protect them from alterations that the voice of every generation and every interpreter would introduce, one while in changing the words, at another time the spirit.

* Plutarque, vie de Cleomene.

† Goguet, de l'Origine des Arts, des Sciences, des Loix, tom. 5. p. 83.

One hundred and fifty years before the first olympiad, the alphabet was very little used in Greece: and we may be assured, that people so barbarous, and such enemies of all kind of improvement, as the Dorians of Laconia were, had then no knowledge of it.

Maximus of Tyre, had reason to take notice, that Lacedemon and Crete, were precisely the two countries of Greece, where the poems of Homer were known but of late date; though they were very commonly sung in Beotia and Attica*. After that, it is easy to conceive the absurdity of supposing, that the first copy of these poems was carried from Asia into Europe by Lycurgus, who has been confounded with different persons of the same name: and, in attributing to some, which could not but belong to others, they first embarrassed the order of chronology, and at length, the order of history.

We have already, more than once, had occasion to observe, in the course of this work, that among the Greeks in general, historical criticism was, of all the sciences, that, which made

* Maxime de Tye. Dissertation 23, de l'edition de Londres, 1740.

the least sensible progress; because the philosophers, and learned men amongst them, never learned any other language than their own. It has been imagined, that this method, proper in appearance to abridge the course of their studies, gave them a decided advantage over the moderns; it is exactly the contrary; for by the help of foreign languages, we have known how to judge of the genius of an infinity of nations; to certify a great number of monuments; and, in the end, destroy the vain credulity, and that mythological spirit, which were the two great scourges of Greece, and of all the Asiatics, who learnt no other tongue than their own.

Amongst a people like the Spartans, plunged as we know into profound ignorance purely voluntary, we can by no other means pierce through the veil of antiquity, nor distinguish the institutions, which a false tradition attributed to Lycurgus, from those which were really his work. If, it was he, who ordered the assassinations of the Helotes, without any form of process, and, in a manner, truly perfidious, this atrocious thing alone, in his sanguinary legislation, is sufficient to blast his name and memory for ever. It would be yet worse, if it was he,
who

who changed the Lacedemonians into a people of soldiers; employed at first to make a conquest of Messenia, and successively to plunder all the Grecian states. To desire that such robbers should, in the midst of arms, blood and pillage, restrain their inclinations, is to unite things, that God himself cannot combine: for, if the mind of the wise man can scarcely contain itself in prosperity, how shall such wicked men as these, be able to make a moderate use of victory! I believe, even, that it was much against their will, that they saw themselves at length obliged to employ writing, relative to the law of nations, which bind one people to another: when they had concluded a treaty of alliance with Argos, or a treaty of peace with Athens, they cut the articles on pillars, or columns of marble, and every contracting power preserved a copy. As the Spartans deposited all these monuments in the temple of Apollo, at Amyclea, it was thought, that in digging to a certain depth, it might be possible to discover some inscriptions of the greatest importance, respecting the history of Greece. But as these researches, undertaken at the expence of Louis the 14th, in a place called *Slabo-chori*, were not directed by a notion positive enough as to the locality, they dug up

up only a catalogue of the priestesses of Apollo*. This inscription is not so old as it has been thought ; for the manner of writing alternatively from left to right, and from right to left, is nothing less than a proof of its antiquity ; since to me it appears certain, that this kind of character, which they commonly called *Boustrophédon*, remained much longer in use in Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia, than it did at Athens. It is a general notion, that the Spartans were the only Greeks that employed a kind of cypher, for their instructions to their generals and embassaders ; but, we have just said, that it was always their great maxim to spread an impenetrable cloud over all the springs and operations of their policy, which were generally of such a nature, that they could not bear the light. All, says Thucydides, that appears beneficial to them, is always esteemed honest in their sight ; and this Machiavelism was yet often accompanied with a national pride, which, on the least reserve, changed to baseness. The Spartans had written some letters to Thebes, in a very laconic style, or, which is

* Mr. Barthelemy a donne une explication des inscriptions d'Amicycles dans le Tome 23, de l'Acad. des Belles lettres.

the same thing, very insolent ; but, when they had been completely beaten at Leuctra, they began to lengthen their phrases. “ It was I, said Epaminondas, who taught them that politeness”*.

II.

Analysis of the Lacedemonian Government.

THE Grecian politicians defined the different forms of Government, by terms so happily invented, and so energetic, that we see them at this day, sacredly preserved in the language of all the people of Europe : but, when it is a question to define the government of Sparta, then the greatest politicians, says Plato, are singularly embarrassed.

In effect, such a definition can neither be made in few words, nor in few sentences ; for so complicated a performance, must be looked at in different points of view.

* The Greek text says, that Epaminondas put an end to the Laconism, or Brachyology, of the Spartans.

With

With respect to the Helotes, and the subdued inhabitants of Messenia, this constitution was despotic, and more absolute than that of Persia or Turkey. The Helotes possessed nothing they could call their own; and we have already observed, that, over and above the slavery of the glebe, and military service, they might be killed at pleasure: but this right, which the Polish nobility have dared formerly to exercise over the peasants and cultivators, supposes the most frightful despotism, that the human mind has been able to conceive, in the last stage of its perverseness.

With respect to the tributary inhabitants of Laconia, they had no right of voting in the national assemblies, nor any representative in the state deliberations, nor any direct share in the civil government. The constitution of Sparta was oligarchic, that is to say, a small number there oppressed the larger; as the nobles of Venice oppress the citizens, and the inhabitants of the continent.

As to the true Lacedemonians of the Doric race, who composed the governing nation, their government was an imperfect democracy; enslaved by two hereditary captains-

tains-general, whom they called kings. What proves that this state was, at the bottom, democratic, is, that the people had the right to give sanction to the laws, to make war and peace, to create senators during life, and to choose the five great magistrates, which they called the Ephori, who were annual.

Thus, all that which constitutes the essence of sovereignty, resided in the hands of the people; who, to keep the kings in proper bounds, and repress their ambition, were obliged to entrust so great a power with the Ephori, that in no republic in the world, did the first magistrate possess so much authority. This system of counterpoizing politics, were the principal defects of this constitution; where, to avoid despotism, they had recourse to tyranny.

At first, the Ephori supplied the defect of written laws, by an arbitrary decision; and they had the power of life and death, without appeal from their tribunal, to any court of justice; in such a way, that their authority was, as Aristotle has defined it, *Iso-tyrannic*, or equal to tyranny. The only thing that the people had refused them, is, that in no case, they should take the command of
armies

armies or fleets ; and they were obliged to reside in Sparta, like the tribunes of the people at Rome, who dared not absent themselves.

It is easy to understand, why such formidable magistrates, whose sight only frightened a man, ought not to command armies : for, then they would have become more powerful than the republic itself, as no force could be found to repress theirs.

The influence of the Spartan senate went into decline as that of the ephori increased. Besides, this senate, composed of old men to the number of twenty eight, the youngest of which must be sixty years of age, really wanted vigour and energy; for it is certain, says a Greek philosopher, that in man the mind grows old with the body. To prevent an inconvenience of this kind these counsellors should have been annual and not during life; and then there was nothing to fear from their falling into childhood, which often happened.

By degrees they deprived these old men of any decision in great matters, and left them only the civil causes ; so that they resembled rather

rather a court of justice, than a political department; they are therefore little mentioned in the history of Greece, whilst they are constantly speaking of the ephori, whom the people chose annually, and took care to choose them from the Plebeian families; for the nobility of Sparta was attached to the court faction, to such a degree, that no confidence could be placed in them.* It appears indeed very probable, that a nobleman could not there be one of the ephori, more than a patrician at Rome, could be one of the tribunes of the people. And this is the reason why Cicero pretended that the election of Clodius, who belonged to a Patrician family, was null, and against the law; although he had abjured his nobility, in procuring himself to be adopted a man of the people, which was purely a civil fiction.*

The two Spartan kings were members of the senate by birth, where they had each a vote; but they never dared to enter the tribunal of the ephori, except they had been called upon, and when summoned in that

* Ubbo Emmius, de la Republique Lacedemone, p. 315.

* Cicero, pour sa maison, aux Pontifes.

way,

way, they were obliged to obey, otherwise a band of guards would have conveyed them from the throne to the prison: for these great magistrates had the power of sending the kings to prison; and this was what they thought the lance and buckler of liberty. But the event proved, that even these arms were not tempered highly enough, to resist the impressions of this kind of despotism, that the greatest politicians of Greece defined by the following characters: it is, say they, "a state where one man only governs the people according to maxims, which are not directed towards the interests of the subjects, but towards the interest of the sovereign, and the reigning family."†

When the Spartan kings were chargeable with any faults not absolutely deserving exile, or death, they were punished by a pecuniary fine: and Thucydides says, that king Agis was condemned to pay 100,000 drachmas of silver, of the currency of Egis, and to have his house rased to the ground, as in former times they had rased that of the king Teotychides.‡

† Aristotle, Politiques, lib. 3. c. 4. et lib. 4.

‡ Thucydide, lib. 5. et Herodote, lib. 6.

Agis, by tears, prayers, and promises, prevailed so far as to calm the people; but it was impossible to appease another storm which was seen to spread over the heads of his successors. These princes, in their quality of hereditary captains, had alone the right of commanding armies; and in the middle of a camp they became true sovereigns, directed the military operations as they liked, gave, or refused to give battle, as they thought proper, and led the troops wherever they pleased. As Agis appeared to have abused these eminent prerogatives, the Spartans fixed bounds to them, and submitted the kings to a council of ten commissioners, without whose consent they dared not to undertake any thing with the army.

This revolution, which took place in the year 418 before our era, forms a remarkable epoch in the history of Sparta; and, from that moment, the royal authority went on always diminishing; till, that, at length, Cleomenes, in open day, cut the throats of the five ephori, broke their tribunal, annihilated their name even, and subdued the state, as Cesar enslaved Rome. But that which Cesar never undertook, that is to say, to get rid of Pompey by poison,

poison, Cleomenes dared to try, and he poisoned the last king of the younger branch of the Eurypontides; so that he who belonged to the elder branch of the Agides, remained the sole and only master and governor in the middle of Sparta.

Such was necessarily to be the effect of the dyarchy, or double royalty; and of all this whimsical constitution, formed, as has been seen, by a concurrence of blind causes and political errors, which they at length endeavoured to correct by an equilibrium difficult to find, between the power of the ephori and the kings, who constantly preferred the most uncertain war to profound peace; for in spite of the shackles they endeavoured to put on them, they found themselves infinitely less constrained in the midst of an army, than in the capital, where the magistrates watched them as tutors watch their pupils. So the spirit of this military government was a disease, of which the sick themselves had an interest in not being cured.

The Lacedemonian nobility consisted, properly, in a body of knights, whom they named *Hippagrètes*, whilst they described the

plebeians in general by the term *Cores*.§ These were divided into two classes, the last of which had only an active voice to create magistrates, without being able to arrive at the magistracy, and the citizens of this order they called the subalterns, whilst the others took the title of equals, and had an active and passive voice to choose, or be chosen. But the Ephorat was the highest degree they could attain; and as the duration of this power was confined to twelve months, and there was no time to lose in making a fortune, they ought to take all possible advantage of such plenitude of authority, which placed the general direction of the finances in their hands. But we have already observed, that this department was frequently in extreme disorder; the principal cause of which originated from the prerogative attached to the dignity of the Ephori, who were not obliged to give account of their administration to any one, just

§ They are called *Cores* in a fragment of Archytas cited by Stobæus. The Subalterns were excluded the public repasts and magistracy, on account of their acknowledged indigence. Mr. Capperonier has confounded the Hypomiones with the Helotes.

like

like the great magistrates at Crete, called the *Cofmes*.*

The twenty-eight senators of Sparta, who were for life, had no cause to hasten so much as the ephori; but, in return, they did not give them such ample means to enrich themselves. The principal subtleties they could put in practice related to the transactions with their allies; for instead of furnishing their contingent in effective troops, they easily obtained permission from the senate to pay so much money, and then they every day gave half a drachma of Egis, for the pay of every Spartan foot soldier, and two drachmas to every horseman for his daily pay.

It is easy to judge from these particulars, of the degree of venality that infected all the departments of this state, where they trafficked even with the lives of men: and it was exactly this trade from which they should

* Meursius et Ubbo Emmius de la Republique des Cretois, p. 67.

† Xenophon, Helleniques, lib. 5. The Spartans gained greatly upon such pay, as they got men cheaper from their own people and the Helotes, for their allies.

have

have abstained to prevent the frightful progress of depopulation, which was every day more and more striking. Formerly, the Doric Spartans, without reckoning the Helotes, could bring nearly ten thousand warours into the field; which, under the reign of Agis, were reduced to fifteen hundred individuals; since, they were reduced to nothing; and Laconia presented the picture of a frightful, desolate country.

The most plausible excuse, left at this day to those, who with enthusiasm preach up this form of government, is, that they did not know it, and had not the means of knowing it: writing at hazard, and judging in the same way, they have made books, much the same as one makes a dream.

III.

Of the Spartan Colonies.

THE three principal cities, that the ancients looked upon as colonies of Lacedemon, were exactly those, which were the most distinguished

tinguished by their excessive dissoluteness of manners. At first, at Tarentum, they celebrated the bacchanalia, in such a way, that, during their drunken fits, they did not know whether they were in Italy or Sicily: then like Pentheus, they thought they saw two suns, and confounded Mount Vesuvius with *Ætna*. Next follows Byzantium, where they drank no less than at Tarentum. Lastly, comes Cyrena, the mother of luxury and effeminacy; where philosophy itself was so degenerated, that they placed the Cyrenaic sect, at some degrees below epicurism.

The origin of the Tarentines, is not obscure; they were, as we have seen, indebted to the incredible debauches of the Lacedemonian virgins, for their existence: afterwards, they embarked for great Greece, which was then like America in our days; and the adventurers, who had no house at home, went there to build a city. But, as to Byzantium and Cyrena, one may positively affirm against the authority of the ancients, that they were not true colonies of Sparta; where the extreme weakness of its population, did not allow of sending out a body of men, considerable enough in number, to people a new city.

We

We know, at this day, the exact method that the Spartans took to found the military colony of Heraclea, beyond the Thermopylæ, near the ruins of the ancient Trachis. They got together all the beggars and vagabonds they could find in the Peloponnesus, provided they were of the Doric race; for they absolutely excluded the Achæians, Ionians, and, consequently, all Athenians in general. In spite of this, the adventurers of this establishment, contrived to enroll ten thousand emigrants, of every age and sex; amongst whom, perhaps, they did not reckon forty Spartans. This troop of adventurers, went in the 88th olympiad, about the year 426 before our era, to found, with great noise and show, the city of Heraclea*.

This establishment was, according to all the rigour of terms, a colony; but not a colony formed of men, natives of the city: so that one may be much deceived in looking upon the Heracleans, as a nation issuing from the heart of Lacedemon, which, being a military state, employed itself in founding military colonies, the most unhappy of all those

* Marcien d'Heraclee, Thucydide, lib. 3. et Diodore de Sicile, lib. 12.

that

that imagination, or idea, can present to man. I do not believe, that on the globe there has ever existed, calamities and disasters, comparable to those felt by the Heracleans : and, if one was desirous of saying how often it had been attacked and plundered, it would require a long discussion. The Spartans, to keep them under the yoke, spread torrents of blood, by cutting the throats, without pity, of all the colonists, who shew the least inclination towards independence ; and this was the first cause that weakened this establishment at its birth, and announced the great misfortunes with which it was threatened.

We may in general affirm, that the ancients followed false principles, relative to the foundation of colonies ; and we know of no state, at this time, that has not made irreparable mistakes in this respect. The Lacedemonians, absolutely lost the ten thousand men they sent to Heraclea, to secure the strait of Thermopylæ ; and the Athenians, on their part, lost the ten thousand men sent to Amphipolis, to secure the mouth of the river Strymon. Tyre, in constructing Carthage, thought to possess the commerce of Africa ; but, it was precisely Carthage herself, that,

not

not only deprived her of the African commerce, but of that of Spain also. Corinth, had the imprudence to suffer itself, first, to be weakened, and afterwards totally humbled, by the colonies of Syracuse and Corcyra; which successively got into their hands, from the metropolis, the choicest and richest branches of her trade, in Sicily, in Italy, and all along the coasts of the Adriatic sea. The Corinthians, dazzled by the great prosperity, which was by and by to finish, thought nothing more easy, than to make Corcyra return to its dependance, by open force; for this purpose, they undertook a terrible war, at a vast expence, and failed at last, in all their attacks, in all their attempts, and in all their hopes. Nothing is better known, than the fate of Miletos: with much building of cities, to favour its commerce on the black sea, she resembled a mother carried to her grave, by her children. Miletos, was afterwards but a shadow; and, without the goodness of its herds and its wool, it would have scarcely existed in the form of a town, after having been the most prosperous of any metropolis.

Nothing hurt the Roman republic more, than the colonies it sent beyond the limits of
of

of Italy: it was there, according to the expression of a latin author, the most deadly of all the enterprizes, that the politicians of that day, are chargeable with. Instead of uniting and concentrating the nation in a space determined by nature, they dispersed them without end; the result of which, was a mixed breed, who were Romans by name, and enemies of Rome, because their interests were almost always in manifest opposition to those of the capital.

These examples are more than sufficient to convince ourselves of the difficulty there is in founding the depths of a system, so vast and dark, as that which relates to colonies in general. Amongst the Greeks, they were of four different sorts, that is to say, military, like Heraclea; commercial, like Syracuse; husbandmen, like those placed by the Athenians, in the Thracian Chersonesus; and, in fine, the political colonies, founded with no other view, than to ease the republic of an excess of population, or, to get quit of citizens of little value. These last were the most happy establishments of all; because they had no connection that was oppressive, nor any burdensome dependence on the mother country; which from the instant of their

foundation, renounced all kind of empire over the emigrants ; neither was Sparta seen to have ever endeavoured to arrogate to itself a shadow of authority over Tarentum, which was a political colony. Such was in general the condition of most of the cities founded on the coasts of great Greece and Asia-Minor ; and, it cannot be doubted, but this was the cause that contributed so much to make these cities flourishing. Some in their turns became principal cities, built many new towns, and threw out a hundred branches, like healthy trees planted in a fertile soil.

Finally, the observation made respecting the mixture of men, gleaned from all the valleys of the Peloponnesus to found the city of Heraclea, may be extended to the greater part of the Greek colonies ; for amongst them there existed very few who were composed of families the issue of one and the same country, because a crew of vagabonds always joined every emigration ; and the only rule we should take care to observe, is, that the Dorians and Ionians are never to be confounded as belonging to the same colony ; for there was such invincible antipathy between these two people, that it sometimes changed

changed to an intolerable want of humanity. It is at least certain, that in the territory of Athens there was a temple, where the priests would not suffer a man of the Doric race to enter; and there is no doubt but this national hatred had great influence in those continual wars among the European Greeks: but if I was desirous to search out the causes of the aversion, that the Ionians had conceived to the Dorians, I should be drawn away farther than the bounds of my subject, to which it is necessary to return.

IV.

Of the Political dissolution of Lacedemon.

NEVER were a people seen to expire in such terrible convulsions, as those with which the Spartans expired.

At the naval battle fought on the coast of Gnidus, they lost the empire of the sea, which they had usurped ten years. At the battle of Leuctra they lost the conquest of Messenia, in which all their force consisted; they
had

had absolutely none to resist the Macedonian arms when attacked by them. Antipater at once overturned all their troops in the fields of Mantinea, and Antigonus afterwards defeated them yet more terribly, at Sellasia, in the year 222 before our era. Then the king Cleomenes, who had poisoned his colleague, assassinated the ephori, and lost his army and capital; being without resources or hopes, left the Grecian country, and saved himself in Egypt, and the Egyptians finished all by flaying his body like that of a wild beast, and fixing it to a gibbet in Alexandria, which was the end of his presumption and horrible villainies. When the Spartans heard the news of his death, far from revenging his manes, disgraced by the most horrible of catastrophes, they put their royalty to sale, and sold it to the best bidder. Such was the spirit of venality in them, says Polybius, and the refinement of avarice, that they had the art to make a trade of the greatest of evils, under the veil of the greatest good fortune.

An adventurer, named Lycurgus, of whose extraction and family nothing is known, bought this pretended monarchy, in paying
to

to each magistrate a talent of silver, of the currency of Egis, or about 7,500 livres.

This man behaved like a financier, who endeavoured to draw a double of what he had risked in this hazardous engagement. His reign, though of short duration, was a succession of disagreeable events and political errors. Nevertheless, those who had received his money were interested in supporting him against the pretenders who came to dispute the possession of the throne; and amongst which, above all, was seen a child of the name of Agefipolis, who said he was sprung from the blood of the ancient kings of Sparta, of the branch of the Heraclides, which we have seen finished in the person of Cleomenes, hanged in Egypt. Whatever was the rights of this candidate, the faction of Lycurgus drove him from all the places of Laconia, so that he was a wanderer the rest of his life, without house or home, like a beggar, and it could not be discovered in what part of the world Agefipolis finished his days.

At the death of Lycurgus, the confusion and disorder augmented to that degree, at Sparta, that there was no longer any appearance of legislation, or shadow of government;
so

so that the state was subdued by an usurper, well known under the name of Machanidas, who engaged himself in a useless and unfortunate war, where he lost his life, and part of his army.

Then, upon this scene of horrors, started up the tyrant Nabis; the most unnatural monster, and the most bloody, that ever appeared in human form. His cruelty far surpassed that of Phalaris, of Agrigentum, or Denys, of Syracuse; whose names, are, indeed, more famous, but, whose crimes were not, in reality, neither so determined, nor so atrocious. He began his reign, by sending all the Spartans, of the Doric race, who remained, into exile; and afterwards suborned Cretan assassins, who went and cut the throats of those banished folks, one after another, even to the last.

Nabis, having in this manner extinguished this remnant of the nation, and exterminated a great number of the Helotes, he repeopled Sparta, by drawing together, under magnificent promises, and, above all, by the hope of pardon, the robbers, sacrilegious, murderers, and, in short, all the villains of Europe and Asia; by which, he contrived to get together,

together, a body of 15000 men, escaped from the sword of justice; for there was not an individual amongst them, says Polybius, who had not merited the most severe punishment, by his infamous actions*.

Such were the modern Lacedemonians, who formed themselves into a body, towards the year 202 before our era, which we must not confound with the ancient, of whom no vestige was left on the surface of the Earth; and, as we have seen, expired, by degrees, in the flames of those wars, they continually lighted up.

As soon as Nabis was surrounded with so many satellites, who, to great experience in villany, joined great intrepidity in enterprize, he began to set up for a conqueror; invaded a part of Messenia, took Argos, and took, moreover, many cities in the isle of Crete; from which he exacted most heavy tributes. Afterwards, he built a fleet of corsair vessels, which cruized about Cape Malea; which was then called the Golden Cape, because they nowhere took such prizes as there: and, as Nabis had the island of Cytherea in his posses-

* Fragment du 13 livre de l'histoire de Polybe de Cafaubon.

sion,

sion, it was almost impossible, that a merchant ship on those coasts, could escape him.

There were never seen such great robberies committed in Greece, with such consummate impudence. The city of Lacedæmon, then resembled a cavern, where the freebooters lodged their captures. The wife of Nabis, who carried on a like trade with her husband, brought there all the trinkets and ornaments, and every thing that had been used as dress, and cloaths, of which the women of Argos had been plundered, to such a degree, says Livy, that persons of the first condition, were reduced to absolute nudity; and this, within the walls of ancient Argos, which had been one of the most superb and opulent cities of the Peloponnesus.

It was in the midst of these depredations, that the Spartan tyrant invented a murdering instrument, as terrible as the bull of Phalaris, but much more complicated. It was, according to the description that Polybius has given of it, an automaton, which represented the figure of a woman, covered with a rich drapery; and, by means of different hidden springs, it seized the men, held them closely embraced, and finished, by stabbing in their

breasts so many blades of sharp iron, that they expired in the most horrible pains, if they persisted in their obstinacy, of not declaring where they had hid their money.

Those who have doubted of these atrocious facts, are, probably, in the same case with the Sicilian Timeus, who pretended to be well versed in historical criticism, and who, to give a proof of his sagacity, took it upon himself to deny the existence of the bull of Phalaris, under pretence, that no trace was to be seen of it in Sicily; but, afterwards, it was found at Carthage, among other spoils carried away from Agrigentum: and the Carthaginians probably employed it, to burn their children alive, in honour of Molock.

As Nabis was very fortunate in his depredations, the court of Macedonia began then to give him publicly the title of king; but the Achaian league, gave him only that of robber: and, as he incommoded all the Mediterranean commerce, without respecting vessels which carried the Roman colours, the Romans, says Cicero, who had expressly undertaken wars for the protection of simple merchants, would not be long exposed to such outrages; they came to besiege the ty-

rant of Sparta in his capital, where he was entrenched at the head of a garrison of 15,000 strong. After many battles and assaults, they obliged him, in the end, to accept the articles of capitulation, that the conqueror prescribed. First they took away all his privateers, with a positive prohibition to build any more; they afterwards detached from the Spartan empire all the maritime places situated along the coasts of Laconia, which for a long time had sighed after independence.

The inhabitants of the cities thus emancipated from the dominion of their ancient metropolis, then took the title of *Eleuthero-Laconians*, or free, the origin of which goes up to the 559 year of Rome, and not to the reign of Augustus, as Pausanias, who knew nothing of the Roman history, has stated the fact.*

This freedom of the municipals was the

* Tite Live, Decad. 4. lib. 4. The Emperor Augustus may have confined the independence of the maritime cities of Laconia by new privileges, acquired more than an age before by the treaty between the Romans and Nabis.

last

last political dissolution of Lacedemon, which ceased to be reckoned amongst the great states of Greece, where it formed no more than a city, whose jurisdiction was limited to some weak towns.

It is enough to reflect on this course of events that we have so hastily passed over, to conceive, that such must necessarily be the dreadful issue of a constitution purely military, which first rose by conquests, plunged afterwards into luxury, and expired in the end in robbery, anarchy, and such forgetfulness of all moral principles, that has never been seen among the most barbarous of the ancient continent, whose perverseness and corruption never went such lengths.

As soon as the tyrant Nabis had been assassinated by the robbers of Etolia, the Achaian league sent a body of the army to Sparta, to purge this infamous city, at least of a part of the villains there collected. Some amongst them fled then to the maritime places, and it is with their mixture with the Laconian freedmen, that the modern Mainotes are issued, of whom much has been said in Europe without ever knowing them.

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V.

*Considerations upon the History and the Manners
of the Mainotes.*

THIS nation of small numbers, which has during several ages been spread along the west coast of Laconia, do not descend as has been believed from the ancient Spartans, but draws its origin on the contrary from a people, the declared enemy of Sparta, namely, from the Laconians withdrawn from the tyrannic yoke of their metropolis, who treated them as slaves, or rather as beasts.

The chief place, or the capital of the Mainotes of the north, has at all times been the little city of Oetylos, which being a maritime place was amongst the number of the freed municipals.

As the Greek language is prodigiously changed in the mouths of the Mainotes, they have corrupted the name of Oetylos
into

into that of Vitulo, where their bishop formerly resided, with a troop of Caloyers, of the order of Basile, who were a banditti as dangerous as the rest of the nation: they often went themselves to command on robbing expeditions, and plunder the merchants of Messenia, and the Turks of Corow. When a whole week slipt away without having made a capture, the inhabitants of Vitulo put on mourning, and complained bitterly of Providence, who seemed to have forgotten them.

In this corner of the Peleponnesus, they were not content to carry off all that could be found at land, but they there robbed horribly by sea; according to the ancient maxims of the satellites of Nabis, who had mixed with the Eleuthro-Laconians. In fine, the coast of Maina was so redoubtable to the navigators, that they dared not touch there, to take in water, during the greatest distress of their crews*.

To enter at this time into some geographical relations, touching the interior of this small country, inhabited by such great robbers, one must imagine a shore of five or six

* Voyage de la Grece de Webler. T. 1. p. 171.

leagues extent, on the borders of the Mediterranean, from the foot of Mount Taygetus, to the rocks of Tenarus, which is now called Matapan. This soil is naturally dry; and there are only some valleys proper for the culture of barley, mulberry trees, some evergreen oaks, and olive trees, inferior to those of Attica.

The inhabitants of this coast, have a long time since been divided into two distinct races: those who occupy the north part, in the neighbourhood of the town of Vitulo, have the reputation of being less cruel and atrocious, than the Mainotes of the south; which they have been accustomed to call *Cacouagnis*, or the villains of the mountain. Exposed almost naked to the heats of the sun, and to the intemperance of the climate, upon a very elevated soil, they are, as we have said, very swarthy; and ferociousness appears in every feature of their savage physiognomy.

It is their custom, at all times to go armed, and to massacre, without mercy, those who have been wrecked in the Laconic gulph, and swim ashore at Cape Tenarus: they afterwards let their stript bodies lye on this dole-
ful

ful coast, without burial; where every object one sees, inspires a profound horror. The habitations there consist of sorry huts, for the most part dispersed round the ruins of an ancient Laconic city; where the Ottomans since constructed a fortress, they called *Turcogli-Olimionas*, whilst the modern Greeks, as ignorant in geography as the Turks themselves, call it Maina; which name is since spread over all this coast, by a strange confusion of terms*.

In the memoirs relative to the imperial family of Comnenes, of which I should have been ignorant, if Mr. de Croix, secretary of the king of France, at Lisle in Flanders, had not been so obliging as to communicate them: we find there, that towards the year 1474, an adventurer appeared amongst the Mainotes, who called himself the son of David, last emperor of Trebisonde, of the Comnene race. The anonymous person, who has digested the history of this fatal dynasty, has no doubt, but that this adventurer, called Nicephorus, was really what he pretended to be; but, I am convinced, that it is

*Coronelli, Mem. Geogra. de la Morea. p. 99. The position of Maina, answers to that of the old city of Tendon.

impossible

impossible now to ascertain a fact so enveloped in darkness, amongst such a nation as the modern Greeks, who have forged so many false acts, and false legends, that the Caloyers of Mount Athos, could not read the whole of them, in the course of a long life*.

However that may be, this Nicephorus, we have mentioned, had the art to engage the bishop of Vitulo in his interest, and to be acknowledged by him as a prince, issue of the imperial family of Comnenes. He took, in consequence of that, the title of *Proto-geronte*, as who should say, first old man, or first senator of the Maina coast; where his descendants reign since, almost despotically. At length, there was not the least appearance of liberty, in this form of government; where the *Proto-gerontes* on one side, and the clergy on the other, oppressed a nation, who pretended to be independent.

The sultans of Constantinople, never paid any serious attention to this pretended independence of the highlanders of Maina; and in all the great empires of Asia, are to be found

* *Precis historique, de la maison imperiale des Comneses.* p. 83.

hordes almost savages, who live on rapine, and obey nobody; as the Bedouin Arabs of Turkey; the Curds and Delomites of Persia; the Miaoffes of China; the Bils of the Mogul; the Mardicores of the kingdom of Guzurat; and, in short, of more than fifty races of such like men; of which, some, though comprehended in civilized countries, are yet Authropophagi. It has even been pretended, that, 1782, the Zigueners fed on human flesh, in Hungary, without any knowledge of it, at the court of Vienna. These people, emigrated from a canton of Indostan, and settled there; where they formed, probably, a tribe of Mardicores, of whom Mr. D'Anville, has much spoken in his geographical memoirs of India, without ever being able to discover the origin of such a nation. But, there is not, in my opinion, any doubt, but the Mordicores or man-eaters of the kingdom of Guzrurat, descended from those ancient Indous, they called Padeans, because they dwell on the banks of the river Pader. They were, according to some Greek and latin authors, the most terrible of the Authropophagi ever known.

It is very probable, that the Mainotes of Laconia, have also in the fits of fanatic fury,

devoured many Mahometans of the Morea; and in general they committed so many massacres and excesses on the confines of Messenia and so cruelly incommoded the inhabitants of Coron and Modon, that the governors of these places came to chastise them in 1676; but, instead of making any resistance against the Turks, the Mainotes of the north had the cowardice to leave the country, and save to the number of four thousand men, in six great vessels, some of which were lost before they reached Corfu.

The rest of this little fleet, after having been the sport of the winds over all the Mediterranean, at length disembarked this fugitive people at Paomia in Corsica, where they formed a kind of colony, of which some sensible marks still remain.*

Amongst these emigrants transplanted in Corsica, they reckoned a certain *Stephanopoulo*, as he said *Proto-geronte*, or prince of the Mainotes, afterwards a Parthenius calling himself bishop of Vitulio in Laconia, and in

Anecdotes Historiques de la Colonie Grecque, établi a Paomia en corse en 1676. Boswell aussi, et Cambiagi, tome 2. p. 287.

short

short a great number of Caloyers, who presently got into disputes with the court of Rome, the price of whose bulls and briefs they refused to pay, as fixed at the datery, which was no credit to the Greeks or Latins.

This desertion of the chiefs of all the clergy of the north coast of Maina, threw the Cacovounis of the south, into a great consternation, and they gained the summits of those sharp rocks, formerly called the Thyrides, above Cape Tenarus, as fast as they could. There they deliberated on their alarming situation. It was then decided that those pretended princes, who said they were of the imperial family of Comnenes, having been guilty of high treason in abandoning the country instead of defending it, the dignity of *Proto-geronte* should be forever suppressed. They afterwards divided the country into four hereditary captain-ships, which for want of male heirs should pass to the women. Indeed, towards the year 1764, a widow of the name of Demetria, who often headed a troop of robbers, to rob on the highway from Modon to Mistra; and the knights of Malta, who sometimes came there to amuse themselves

selves in Laconia; affirmed, that this heroine, Demetria, made more prizes by land, than they did upon the Mediterranean.

Nevertheless, the Mainotes, weakened by the flight of the emigrants retired to Corsica, and plunged in civil wars, caused by the creating these captainships, conceived that so precarious a situation could not be durable; and they applied to different sovereigns of Europe to obtain from them, what they called succour against the Turks. We have seen a copy of a circular letter they wrote at that time; in comparing it with the different acts drawn up in Greek by the Galoyers of Vitulo, it is not possible to discover the least trace of the Doric dialect, as spoken by the Spartans of old.

All these petitions were fruitless, except that which reached the court at Petersburg, who, then at war with the Turks, thought to make some advantage of it by sending a fleet into the gulph of Messenia, and there attempt a diversion which the Mainotes engaged to assist with all their force; but the Muscovites had soon reason to repent having formed connections with the most perfidious people in the world, who testified it by an action

action truly atrocious, at the taking of Mifitra. This city surrendered, as we know, to the Russian arms in 1770, according to a capitulation sworn to, on both sides, which insured the lives of the inhabitants: but, the Mainotes said, that they did not trouble themselves with such formalities; and, when no such thing was thought of, set about cutting the throats of the women and children, that the blood ran in all the houses, which they pillaged*. After this unheard wickedness, they had the cowardice to quit the Russians, whom they had called to their assistance from the extremity of the north, to the centre of Greece. In one night, all these pretended warriors of Maina deserted, even to the last man; which raised the siege of Coron, and made the expedition fail to such a degree, that they were obliged to quit the Morea with a precipitation, not much unlike a flight. This was the last exploit, by which the Cocovongnis or villains of the mountains, finished their career: and the Turks have since put them nearly in the same situation, as the other tributaries of the Sangaciate of Mifitra.

* Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce, part 1. et Précis. hist. de Constances, p. 130.

To such may in reality be reduced all the histories of nations of robbers; to whom we may apply the energetic trait, by which Maximus of Tyre, has described the genius of the inhabitants of the ancient Etolia: "the Athenians, says he, excel in eloquence; the Thebans, in playing on the flute; and, the Etolians, in the art of robbing on the high-ways."

VI.

Conclusion of this Section.

AT length, I finish this long course of discussions relative to the Lacedemonians, who have been so many ages the object of admiration, and of the prejudiced enthusiasm of so many writers; but, we have seen all these illusions and fables vanish to such a degree, as never to be again renewed in the eye of reason.

It was the interest of humanity to dissipate those prejudices, which raised the barbarous inhabitants of ancient Sparta, to the same pitch of glory and illustriousness, with the
most

most enlightened societies of Greece, whose knowledge and information, have constantly been the guides to posterity; first, in the culture of the agreeable arts, and, afterwards, in the search of all the great objects relative to philosophy and legislation; without which, men may exist, but, without which, they know not how to be happy or respectable.

We have made known the interior state of Greece, with precision enough, that readers, the least attentive, may be able to judge of what would have been the state of this country, if the Lacedemonians had succeeded in conquering and subduing, and every where spreading that thick darkness, in which they were themselves enveloped: then would this point of the earth have been no more a source of light to us, but a barbarous region; the revolutions of which would have interested us as little, as those of Cappadocia, or of Phrygia. Such conquerors, would not only have spread an impenetrable cloud over the horizon of Greece, but, they would have reduced the inhabitants to the situation of the miseries and misfortunes, to which they reduced the Misenian; who were lost to the arts and sciences, as long as they were enslaved by the Spartans, whose grand max-

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im, was to destroy with the utmost violence the firmest supports of civil liberty. And, as soon as it invaded a democratic state, it began, by effacing every symptom of popular government, to introduce a pernicious and excessively oppressive obligarchy, like that of the thirty tyrants it imposed upon Athens, and like that of the ten Harnostes, it imposed upon all the cities, which, for some time, were overwhelmed by the torrent of its arms, and the wicked artifices of its policy.

In fine, the greatest good fortune that ever beset the human mind, is, that the states of Greece, did not sink under the dominion of Lacedemon, who wanted neither will, nor means, nor ambition, to execute such a conquest: but the inherent defects of its constitution, wasted it from day to day, that it could not maintain a decided ascendancy upon the continent, for more than twenty-nine years; which, Demosthenes affirms, was the longest term of its superiority. As to the empire of the sea, which it acquired at the battle of Egos-potamos, by the corruptions of Lysander, it lost it afterwards, at the battle of Gnidus: all the efforts it made from that time, were absolutely useless;

less; for at the time, that by its greatest perseverance it began to repair its naval forces, Epaminondas destroyed all its land forces. Then it was plunged into the greatest of misfortunes, and, in short, totally exterminated, by the horrible tyranny of Nabis; which exhibits the most frightful picture, in all the history of expiring Greece.

The Translator cannot take leave of Mr. De Pauw, without acknowledging the greatest respect for his genius and learning, and the soundest criticism, where judgment may be passed; and, in things problematical, that his conjectures are generally such, as the most enlightened mind only could furnish. His great knowledge of the natural history of the human mind, is visible in every description, from the solitary savage of the desert, to the man whose actions are regulated, by philosophy and virtue.



